

CORONATION OF A KING

OR

THE CEREMONIES, PAGEANTS AND CHRONICLES OF CORONATIONS OF ALL AGES

BY

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Now, good angels
Preserve the king.
Tempest, ACT II. SC. I.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS
REPRODUCED FROM OLD PRINTS, ETC.

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1902

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

	PAGE
THE CROWNING OF A KING	1

CHAPTER II

EARLY CORONATIONS	25
-----------------------------	----

CHAPTER III

CORONATIONS IN THE CONFESSOR'S ABBEY	52
--	----

CHAPTER IV

CORONATIONS FROM 1272-1558	75
--------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER V

CORONATIONS FROM 1604-1838	108
--------------------------------------	-----

vi THE CROWNING OF A KING

CHAPTER VI

	PAGE
CONCERNING REGALIA	150

CHAPTER VII

THE KNIGHTS OF THE BATH	150
-----------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER VIII

SOME MEMORABLE CORONATIONS — THE CORONATION OF THE POPES OF ROME	224
---	-----

CHAPTER IX

CORONATIONS IN THE FAR EAST	255
---------------------------------------	-----

ILLUSTRATIONS

Building south of Palace Yard in 1805	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	PAGE
Banquet at the Coronation of George IV.	9
Church prepared for the Coronation of James II.	17
Charlemagne	31
Early Inauguration of Kings	43
Coronation Procession of Charles II.	67
The King's Champion	83
Charing Cross in the Sixteenth Century	92
Plan of Westminster in Queen Elizabeth's Reign	100
Coronation of James I.	109
Coronation of Charles II.	116
Coronation of James II.	120
Coronation of George III.	130
Coronation Procession of George IV.	138
George IV.	149

viii THE CROWNING OF A KING

	PAGE
Westminster in 1547	160
Westminster from the Garden of old Somerset House	185
Scenes illustrating the Initiation of a Knight of the Bath {	205
Installation of the Knights of the Bath in Henry VII.'s	210
Chapel	220
Coronation of Louis XVI.	231
Coronation Banquet—Louis XVI.	235
Rheims Cathedral	245
Procession of a Pope in the Fifteenth Century	252

CHAPTER I

THE CROWNING OF A KING

WESTMINSTER ABBEY has been described as the "most lovely and most lovable thing in Christendom." Nowhere else is there to be found a spot enclosed within walls which is so rich in historic association, or where so many of the great scenes in a nation's history have been enacted; and it may be said to occupy a unique position among the public buildings of the world.

From one generation to another, during eight long centuries, the English sovereigns have been conducted here in state to be formally invested with the ancient regalia and solemnly crowned in the presence of the high dignitaries of the nation and the representatives of the people. Three of them, Henry III., Richard II., and Henry VII., celebrated their nuptials here, amid every manifestation of national rejoicing, and with all the glitter of regal display. Hard by,

2 THE CROWNING OF A KING

practically adjoining, was their home; for the Palace of Westminster was for long ages the chief residence of the kings of England. They had an entrance of their own, which they used when they came in a private capacity, so that they were able to pass in and out of the Abbey-Church unobserved. Many of them, we know, loved it passionately. Then, when their troubled careers were over, and they had done with the vexations and vanities of this life, many of them were carried here; and they are lying here now, taking their long rest, while successive generations of Englishmen come and gaze curiously on their tombs. "Where our kings have been crowned," said Jeremy Taylor, "their ancestors lie interred, and they must walk over their grand-sire's head to take his crown. There is an acre sown with royal seed, the copy of the greatest change, from rich to raked, from ceiled roof to arched coffins, from living like gods to die like men."

The Kremlin at Moscow offers some points of comparison with Westminster Abbey, for in the three churches there, under one roof, have the Tsars of Russia been respectively crowned, married, and, up to the time of Peter the Great, interred; but the parallel soon ceases. For it is not alone for the splendid memories of the coronation or of the pomp of the royal funerals

that the hearts of the nation go out to the venerable Abbey. Wonderful as they are to us, these stately ceremonials, of bygone ages, with the great men and the high-born ladies of history as the chief actors in each memorable scene, were it merely for the magnificence of it all, Westminster Abbey would not be the hallowed ground it is. It is rather because it has grown to be the local centre of the nation and its legislature, as well as of the monarchy and the Palace; the place of sepulture of her great men as well as of her kings. The House of Commons had its earliest beginnings within the Abbey precincts. For a time the Commons met in the cloister churchyard, later in the great refectory; then the Chapter House was assigned to them for their deliberations, and a somewhat doubtful legend states that the monks of Westminster complained that their devotions were disturbed by the noise and tumult of the adjoining Parliament. It was not until the reign of Edward VI. that they moved to the Chapel of St. Stephen in the adjacent Palace. So "the Council Chamber of the Abbey of Westminster came to be the Parliament of the English nation, the cradle of representative and constitutional government";* "the cradle of that Constitution of which all the other free constitutions in the

* Dean Stanley, *Westminster Abbey*.

world are copies, and which, in spite of many defects, deserves to be regarded as the best under which any society has ever yet existed during many ages." * Finally, it can be said of the Abbey that more great men lie buried within its walls than in any other building, and that there are more illustrious names to be found in it than in any other one place. "It has been the peculiar privilege of the Kings of England," said Dean Stanley, "that neither in life nor in death have they been parted from their people. As the Council of the nation and the Courts of Law have pressed into the Palace of Westminster, and engirdled the very throne itself, so the ashes of the great citizens of England have pressed into the sepulchre of the kings, and surrounded them as with a guard of honour after their death. . . . By a gradual instinct the main groups have formed themselves round particular spheres of death: the kings ranged themselves round the Confessor; the princes and courtiers clung to the skirts of the kings; out of the graves of the courtiers were developed the graves of the heroes; Chatham became the centre of the statesmen, Chaucer of the poets, Purcell of the musicians, Casaubon of the scholars, and Newton of the men of science." So the Abbey is to the English people a storehouse of precious memories,

* Macaulay, *History of England*.

whose very stones "are warmed with the life-blood of human affections and personal partiality." * There remains not much to be added to its renown, for in many respects it has ceased to occupy the position it once held. It is four hundred years since a royal marriage was last solemnised within its walls; our kings are no longer buried there, and the long roll of illustrious dead has apparently come to an end, for from sheer want of space there can be no more interments. But the coronations still continue. It remains the scene of the enthronement of our kings. The ancient ritual of inauguration is still performed here with all its time-honoured observances in the front of the altar, on the identical spot where so many sovereigns of this realm have been anointed and crowned; and the long series of living pictures continues to grow yet longer.

The coronations are not now what they used to be in the good old days, and the festivities attending them have been shorn of many of their glories. In former times there used to be very great doings when a king was going to be crowned, and the most brilliant ceremonies took place in connection with the event. On the day preceding his inauguration, the king used to ride in procession from the Tower to Westminster

* Stanley.

with every accompaniment of royal state and display that the ingenuity of the times could devise. The streets would be cleared of all passengers that they might be cleansed; they were strewn with gravel; the fronts of the houses were decorated with tapestries and gay hangings, and the aldermen and the City Companies, habited in their liveries, used to station themselves in Cheapside to see the king pass and to pay their respects to him. They generally carried staves in their hands so as to be able to control the crowd, which was apt to become unmanageable, and barriers used to be erected in places where it was feared it might break through and interrupt the order of the procession. Pageants and shows were arranged all along the line of route, and the king was expected to rein in for a few moments at each, in order to receive a complimentary address and to make a gracious reply. They made but slow progress, so often was the procession obliged to halt for some demonstration of this nature. But then it did not matter—Englishmen have ever dearly loved a show. They had a whole day before them for their merry-making, and if they did not arrive at Westminster until dusk it did not signify. Knights and barons and men-at-arms and heralds, to the number of some thousands, formed a magnificent escort,

and very beautiful must the spectacle have been as the gay cavalcade wound its way in and out of the crooked, narrow streets of old London, and passing under Temple Bar, swept on its way to Westminster. But the age of chivalry passed away and feudal customs died out, and Stuart kings came to occupy the throne of England who complained of the expense of all this; and so, after the days of the Merry Monarch, the processions were discontinued.

Then again, on the morning of the day fixed for the king's installation, he used to proceed in great state from Westminster Hall to the Abbey. In the early days the way used to be covered with cloth of "Tyrian dye," as the chroniclers describe it; but subsequently a platform used to be erected, which was carpeted and railed in, and along which passed first the hereditary Herbwomen strewing flowers, then the choir, the clergy, the peers and peeresses, the high officers of state bearing the regalia, four barons carrying the swords, and lastly, the king and queen themselves, walking under canopies of cloth of gold borne by the Barons of the Cinque Ports. The distance was about twelve hundred yards, and the route taken was from the Hall to the King's Gatehouse, which stood near to where Downing Street is now, and thence by the Broad Sanctuary to the

west door of the Abbey. They passed in full view of the populace, who evinced the greatest delight at such a scene, and shouted themselves hoarse in their demonstrations of loyalty and affection. George IV. was the last king who passed thus to his coronation.

Then there were the banquets in Westminster Hall. After his coronation, the sovereign used to return to the Hall where a magnificent banquet took place. Galleries were erected which accommodated thousands of spectators. Great tables used to be laid in the floor of the Hall for the clergy, the peers, the Knights of the Bath, the citizens of London, and so forth, while the king dined on a dais at the further end. A gallery was reserved for the heralds and the kings-at-arms. The first course was brought in by high officers of state on horseback, and before the second was served the king's Champion used to appear. Escorted by esquires and heralds, he would challenge to mortal combat any one who dared to question the king's title, and on some occasions the challenge was repeated five or six times in various parts of the Hall. After he had received the king's thanks and retired, the second course was brought in and the feast proceeded without further interruption. The last banquet which took place was on the



CORONATION BANQUET OF GEORGE IV.

occasion of the coronation of George IV. It was one of the most magnificent that had ever been held, and the scene was one of the greatest enthusiasm. So many people wished to be present that some difficulty was experienced in finding accommodation for them all, and when plans for erecting galleries came to be discussed it was feared that the Hall would not support them all. So a strict survey was instituted, and many important repairs were declared necessary before it would be safe to provide accommodation for so many people. Among the works carried out was that of supplying a new roof, the old one having been condemned as unsafe, and the material was sent up from Portsmouth, where some old men-of-war were being broken up. Forty loads of the timbers taken from them were employed in its construction. This banquet was one of the most memorable scenes ever witnessed in the famous old Hall, and it was probably the last of its kind, for there have been no coronation banquets since.

Many feudal services were formerly rendered at the time of a coronation, and it was in the reign of Richard II. that a special court, entitled the Court of Claims, was first held, to settle the various claims put forward for serving at the approaching inauguration of the king. Most of these were in connection with the procession

and the coronation banquet, and since these have ceased to take place there has been no further opportunity for them to be rendered. Shortly after the accession of Queen Victoria, a proclamation was issued declaring that Her Majesty would dispense with them on the occasion of her coronation, but that such dispensation should not interfere with the services to be performed at any future coronation; and His Majesty, King Edward VII., has intimated that no claims which were not considered for the last coronation can be taken into account at the approaching one, so that there is every probability of their dying out altogether.

Some of the services rendered in times past read very strangely to us. The office of Grand Carver was performed by the Earls of Lincoln; that of Chief Lardner was in the family of the Nevils, Lords Abergavenny. He had the care and management of the royal larder and of all the provision contained in it; and all the beef, mutton, venison, kids, lard, and other flesh, as also the fish and salt remaining after the banquet were his perquisite. The Chief Butler, who is represented now by the Marquis of Ormonde, received "the best gold cup and cover, with all the vessels and wine remaining under the bar, and all the pots and cups, except those of gold or silver, which shall be in

the wine-cellar, after dinner." The queen's Champion at the coronation of Queen Mary claimed to have for his fee a cup of gold, the horse he rode in the exercise of his office and its trappings, as well as the armour which was provided for him; also eighteen yards of crimson satin, and "the full servyce of meate and drynk belonging to a baron to be conveyed to his lodginge." What the quantity of "meate and drynk" assigned to a baron was, history does not relate, but if one might judge by the value of the other perquisites claimed by the champion, he was helped by no sparing hand.

The Hereditary Grand Almoner, represented by the Marquis of Exeter, is another extinct office. It was his duty to distribute alms at the coronation. He collected the money in a silver dish, which he used to retain as his fee, and he was also allowed a tun of good wine, and all the cloth on which the sovereign walked in procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey. He must not be confused with the Lord High Almoner, whose duties did not concern the coronation. The Lord High Almoner was always in attendance upon the king and used to dispense the king's alms at all times, distribute the broken meats from the royal table, and sell the king's cast-off clothing for the benefit of the poor.

The Lord Mayor and twelve citizens of London used to put forward a claim to assist the Chief Butler in the exercise of his duties, which gave them the right to have a table placed for them at the banquet, the position of which was to be near the cupboard in the left of the hall. The Lord Mayor also used to serve the king with wine in a gold cup, and he retained the cup as his fee. When this claim was put forward in Richard II.'s reign, he decided to allow it to hold good on the consideration, the historian says, "of the great fondness and subsidy that his progenitors abundantly in time past had found of the city of London, and trusting for the like fondness and subsidy time coming amongst the said citizens."

The honour of bearing the "salte and the kerving knives from the pante to the king's dining-table" belonged to the Grand Pannetier. This was an office of great antiquity, which used to be performed by the Beauchamps, the Earls of Warwick, who used to receive the salt-cellars, knives, and spoons laid on the king's table at the coronation feast for their reward.

Many of these services were rendered in virtue of holding certain lands, and as these changed hands the office passed to the new proprietor. One manor in Essex provided the Napier to the coronation feast, whose office it

was to serve the linen, and after the board was cleared he kept the table-cloths and napkins in payment for his services. The owner of another manor in Essex was found to provide wafers made of almonds, sugar, ginger, saffron and other ingredients for the king and queen at the banquet; and the lord of the manor of Worksop had to provide a glove for the king's right hand, and had the honour of supporting the king's right arm when he held the sceptre. The Barons of the Cinque Ports claimed the canopies which they held over the king and queen, and also the privilege of having a table placed for them at the coronation banquet on the right of the king's table. But perhaps the most curious of all services was that of the King's Cock Crower, which survived as late as to the reign of George II. The holder was bound to crow the hour every night during Lent within the precincts of the royal Palace. On other nights in the year the hour was proclaimed or called, but during the season of Lent, for some extraordinary reason, the officer was obliged to crow like a cock as many times as there were strokes in the hour. Equally quaint, though not so unreasonable perhaps, was the service demanded of the holder of Kepperton and Atterton in Kent, who was bound to accompany the king whenever he went on a journey by sea, and whose

duty it was to hold His Majesty's head if he should suffer from sea-sickness! These two last-named offices do not concern the coronation, but they are interesting as illustrating the lines on which the royal household was administered in feudal times.

A Court of Claims still meets before every coronation for the purpose of settling the claims brought forward by people who consider they have ancient rights to perform certain offices for the king.

To the Archbishops of Canterbury belongs the honour of crowning the sovereign. This was an old established privilege even at the time of William the Conqueror, and there are only three cases on record in which it has not been exercised. The primate used to receive as his fee the purple velvet chair, cushion and footstool which he used during the ceremony.

The Dean and Chapter of Westminster, as successors to the Abbots of Westminster, have the sole right of instructing the king in the rites and ceremonies of the coronations. They also receive the regalia the day preceding the installation, and have the custody of them until they are produced at the time appointed for the service. They further have the right of assisting the primate during the celebration of the rite, receiving as their fee, robes for the dean and his

three chaplains and for sixteen of the clergy of the Abbey ; the royal habits which are put off in the church, the several oblations which the king presents, the special furniture provided for the ceremony, and the cloth on which the king walks from the west door to the theatre, as the temporary platform is called.

The Bishop of Durham and the Bishop of Bath and Wells have the privilege of walking beside the king as he passes up the church to the theatre.

The Duke of Norfolk, as hereditary Earl Marshal, has more to do with the arrangements for a coronation than almost anybody else. Among other things, he issues all the royal proclamations connected with it and arranges the order of the procession and the precedence of the peers ; most points of dispute are brought to him to settle. The duties were far more onerous in former times than they are now, and he used to receive many valuable perquisites. The horse and the palfrey on which the king and queen rode to the place of coronation, together with the bridles, saddles, and caparisons, became his property, as did also the cloth on the table at which the king dined, and the cloth of estate which hung behind him at dinner, and many other things.

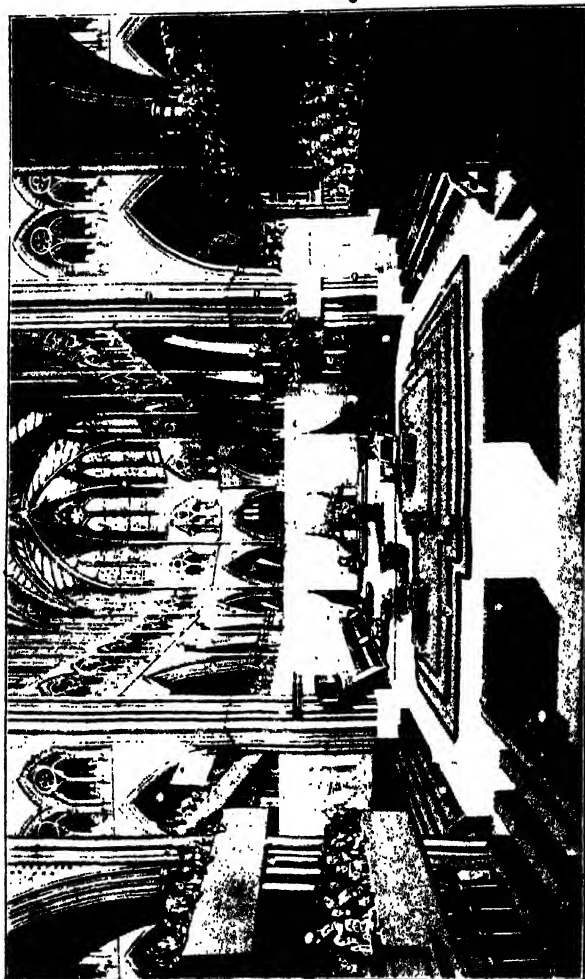
• The office of Constable of England is now

only a temporary one which is revived on the occasion of a coronation and lapses directly it is over. The great Duke of Wellington held it at the coronations of George IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria. His chief duties were to attend on the sovereign's person and to receive the regalia from the Dean of Westminster at the commencement of the ceremony.

The Lord Great Chamberlain used formerly to repair to the king's bedchamber on the morning of the coronation and present him with a shirt to be worn at the ceremony with certain openings in it tied up with ribbons, which were undone at the unction. He used to assist the king to dress, and received as his perquisite the basins and towels used at the royal toilette, the bedding and the furniture of the room in which the king had slept on the previous night, the king's wearing apparel and his night-gown, and about forty yards of crimson velvet. The present holder of the office is Lord Ancaster.

Lord Grey de Ruthven has the privilege of carrying the spurs in the procession of the regalia, and to the Archbishop of York belongs the right of crowning the queen consort.

There was no banquet after the coronation of either William IV. or Queen Victoria, a gala dinner at the Palace in the evening being substituted. Instead of the procession from the Hall



WESTMINSTER ABBEY PREPARED FOR THE CORONATION OF JAMES II.

to the Abbey, too, the sovereign in both cases drove in state from the Palace to Westminster, attended by the officers of the household and a brilliant suite, and escorted by detachments of the household troops.

But however much outside pageants and festivities connected with the coronation may have died out, very few changes have been made in the actual rites of the installation ceremony. After the Reformation the Anglican Service was substituted for the Mass, and slight modifications have been necessitated as times and circumstances have changed, but the service is practically the same which has been performed over all the sovereigns who have ever worn the crown of England.

A platform, called the theatre, is erected in the choir, between the transepts, and on it are set thrones for the king and queen; the king's being a few steps higher than that placed for his consort. The peers and peeresses are seated in the transepts and do not attend to receive the king, but are conducted to their seats immediately they arrive, and sit in strict order of precedence. Their dress is most carefully regulated, even to the length of the trains worn by the peeresses; their coronets, which they carry in their hands, are of plain gold unadorned with precious stones. No one in mourning attire

is allowed to enter the church, a special command being issued to this effect. On the arrival of the king the procession is marshalled into order, and first the choir, then the Abbey clergy, the prelates and the high officers of state, move slowly up the church to the accompaniment of the opening anthem. The regalia is borne in front of the king by the peers who have been specially designated for that office; the four swords are carried immediately before him, and he, bareheaded, and wearing his rich robe of state of purple velvet edged with ermine, is supported on one side by the Bishop of Durham and on the other by the Bishop of Bath and Wells; the queen, also in her robes of state, and wearing a circlet of gold adorned with large diamonds and very fine pearls, is likewise attended by two bishops. The king and the queen take their places on the theatre and the service commences.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who, as we have already said, has the exclusive right of officiating, leaves the altar at the conclusion of the anthem, and ascending the platform commences the ceremony of recognition. Passing in turn to all four sides of the platform he puts the question to the people, while the king, rising, faces the direction in which he is speaking. "I here present to you," says the archbishop,

—— the rightful inheritor of the crown of this realm; wherefore, all ye that are come this day to do your homage, service and bounden duty; are ye willing to do the same?" A moment's pause, and then the answer is given with loud acclamations. After the fourth and last time, the roll of the drums mingles with the voices of the people, and a great flourish of trumpets adds to the impressiveness of the scene. After an anthem the king advances to the altar and presents the first oblation, which consists of an altar cloth of cloth of gold and an ingot of gold of a pound weight. The Litany and the Anti-Communion Service follow, and then the sermon, during which the king sits covered, the two bishops stand one on either side of him, the Lord Great Chamberlain stands on his left and the four lords, bearing the four swords, on his right.

At the conclusion of the sermon the king leaves his throne, and approaching the altar, the coronation oath is administered to him by the archbishop, and then divesting himself of his heavy velvet mantle he seats himself in St. Edward's Chair, better known as the Coronation Chair, which contains the famous Stone of Scone, and which is placed near the altar and facing it. Four Knights of the Garter hold a rich canopy of silk or cloth of gold over him and the ceremony

of the unction is performed. The Dean of Westminster pours some of the consecrated oil from the golden ampulla into the spoon which the archbishop takes, and anoints the king with the oil, making the sign of the cross on his head and on the palms of both his hands. He is invested with the golden spurs; the sword of state is girded on him; the imperial mantle of cloth of gold is placed about his shoulders; the ring put on his finger, and the orb and the sceptre delivered into his hands. Then the archbishop takes St. Edward's crown from the altar and solemnly places it upon the king's head. At the same moment the peers put on their coronets and the kings-at-arms their crowns; the air is rent with acclamations as the people cheer again and again, the drums roll, the trumpets sound, and in a few seconds is heard the boom of the cannon at the Tower where a royal salute is being fired.

It is a great moment and the scene beggars description. No one who has once been present on such an occasion could ever possibly forget it. When the great demonstration is over the presentation of a Bible is made to the king, after which the ritual directs that he shall kiss both the archbishops and all the bishops. The *Te Deum* is sung, and the king, leaving the coronation chair, is installed in the throne on the platform and the peers approach

in order of precedence to do homage. The premier peer of each rank, kneeling before the sovereign, takes the oath for himself and for all the peers of his order in these words:—“I, ———, Duke of ———, do become your liege man of life and limb, and of earthly worship; and faith and troth shall bear unto you, to live and die with you against all manner of folk. So help me God!” The other peers come up in quick succession. They take off their coronets as they ascend the throne, and after they have kissed the king they lightly touch his crown—an ancient custom by which they signify that they are supporters of the sovereign. Meanwhile the Treasurer of the King’s Household, attended by the Garter King-at-Arms and the Usher of the Black Rod, mounts the platform, and going to the three sides of it, throws the coronation medals among the people. A great scramble ensues. High-born lords and ladies, dignified statesmen in official full dress, generals in gorgeous uniforms, stately dowagers resplendent in feathers and diamonds, and learned judges in full-bottomed wigs, all tumble over one another and fight fiercely for the possession of these souvenirs. Quite oblivious for the moment of the stately ceremonial at which they are assisting, they scramble together for them, and dive under

benches and chairs to pick up any that may have rolled away; heads come suddenly together and hard blows are unintentionally delivered; all with the zest and determination of street urchins scrambling for coppers. Very amusing scenes take place, and much adjusting of headgear, straightening of attire, and smoothing of ruffles is necessary when it is all over.

When the last peer has performed homage and retired, the anointing, investiture and coronation of the queen consort takes place, the Archbishop of York officiating. He crowns the queen with St. Edgitha's crown, and as he places it upon her head the peeresses put on their coronets. After the king and queen have received the Holy Communion, the second oblation, an ingot of gold weighing eight ounces, is presented; an anthem follows, and a final benediction, pronounced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, brings the ceremony to a conclusion. The king and queen resume their robes of state, and, wearing their crowns, set out on their return journey to the Palace.

The unguent formerly employed in the anointing of English sovereigns was not a pure oil, but a cream composed of oil and balm. In the accounts which have come down to us of the coronation of Edward II. mention is made of a cream for anointing the king. It appears

that then both oil and a cream were used. The king was anointed on the hands, the breast, the elbows, between the shoulders and on the head with oil, and then a second cross was made on the head with the cream. In later times a cream only appears to have been used. It was consecrated on the morning of the coronation either by the Archbishop of Canterbury or by some bishop who was a member of the Chapter of Westminster. Queen Elizabeth was the last sovereign to be crowned and consecrated according to the Latin service, but the statement that all the English kings since her time have been anointed with pure olive oil is incorrect, as an entry in the records of the coronation of James II. states that the sum of £200 was paid to the Court apothecary for the cream for anointing the king. The cream employed at the consecration of an Emperor of Russia is composed of no less than forty ingredients.

The order of coronation of the kings of England is the oldest in Christendom, and it has been the model on which the inauguration ceremony of the kings of France was formed. It has been in use in our country for over nine hundred years, and has been performed under many strange circumstances. In terrible times of national crisis, when powerful rivals were struggling for the possession of the throne, when

even to assist at the service, was to place one's life in jeopardy in the event of the other claimant proving the stronger man. 'Sometimes the crown has descended to a child, and every man present wondered how peace was going to be preserved in his name between the turbulent barons of the kingdom. One coronation took place when a fierce invasion was threatening our shores, and men knew that their words of homage were no empty formula, but the outspoken determination to rally round the newly crowned monarch and to fight beside him and even to die, if needs be, by his side in the sacred cause of one's country. More than once, too, the last king who had been invested there with these symbols of royalty and who had worn this honoured crown was yet alive, but by the force of tragic circumstances he had fallen from his high estate; on which occasions the conviction that the pomp and glory of even kingly greatness was after all perishable and transient would be driven home with telling force. The history of our nation rises up in visions before us as we dwell in fancy on these scenes. Kings are born nowadays; there was a time when they had to be made.

CHAPTER II

EARLY CORONATIONS

THE most ancient form of the inauguration of kings consisted merely in the election of the new sovereign by the elders of the nation, after which he was elevated on shields and carried by soldiers that he might be seen of the people. This custom appears to have been almost universal. It is known to have prevailed both in the Eastern Empire and also in the states of Spain, and it was introduced by the German soldiers of the Imperial guard to the Romans, by whom it became usual for the newly elected monarch to be carried thus three times round the camp. At first the bearers were ordinary soldiers, and the kings used to stand erect on the shield—a matter of some difficulty when their bearers and the assembled people waxed enthusiastic. Of Gunbald, King of Burgundy, it is related that at his elevation in A.D. 500 he was all but thrown, owing to the unsteadiness of his supporters, and that it was with the

greatest difficulty he kept himself from falling to the earth and from being trampled upon by his too demonstrative subjects. Subsequently it became customary for the king to be carried seated on the buckler, and in cases of a son being elected during the lifetime of his father, the reigning monarch used to officiate as the bearer of the front part of the shield, the patriarch and other state dignitaries being the other supporters.

In process of time, as the nations emerged from semi-barbarism and as civilisation began to advance, thrones came to be more secure and dynasties to be more firmly established, and then greater importance gradually came to be attached to the inauguration of kings, and a more elaborate ceremony was held to be desirable. The earliest recorded instance in Western Europe of an ordination of a king is the inauguration of Aidan, King of the British Scots, by St. Columba in A.D. 574. The times were still very rude, and it is not an easy matter for us to transport ourselves in spirit to that remote age and to picture to ourselves the events as they really took place. The expressions "Court" and "royal estate" as we understand them had no equivalent then, and for a comparison we are driven to travellers' tales of primitive peoples of remote regions which have even to-day been left almost unaffected by

the march of civilisation. Some idea of the manners of that period may be gained from the fact that in Aidan's day, at the Court of the neighbouring kingdom of Wales, it was necessary to make a law by which the courtiers were prohibited from striking the queen or from aiming a blow at her, nor were they to snatch anything with violence from her hand, under penalty of being deprived of her protection!

St. Columba was the foremost man in Aidan's dominions. He enjoyed the confidence of the monarch and of the people to a degree to which no one else had ever attained, and it was the general desire of all parties that he should inaugurate the new sovereign. For some reason or other he was unwilling to take this upon himself, and pleaded one excuse after another in the hopes of evading it. Then we are told he saw a vision. An angel appeared to him in the watches of the night, and holding a book towards him, commanded him to invest Aidan with the kingly dignity according to directions contained therein. Columba hesitated no longer and the ceremony took place. No details of it have come down to us. The wonderful book presented by the angel is mentioned by several chroniclers, and from the fact of its having been enclosed in crystal covers is always referred to as the "Glass Book of the Ordination of Kings."

Amid the general decomposition of the ancient social system which resulted from the wars which devastated the Western Empire, the people learned to look up to the Church as their most powerful defender, and thus a religious element came to be added to the military and political significance of the inauguration ceremony. An early manuscript dating from the middle of the eighth century is the first document which has survived to our own times. It is an order for the benediction of kings, and occurs in the *Pontificale* of Egbert, who was Archbishop of York in A.D. 767, and provides for the anointing and coronation of a king as well as the investment with the staff. From the fact of a copy of it having been found in the church library of Evreux it is probable that the order of service employed at the coronation of English kings was observed among the Franks. When Pepin le Bref assumed the crown he wished to impart a sacred character to the ceremony, and sought for a precedent. None appealed to him so strongly as the case of ancient kings of Israel. The chroniclers mention the fact that not only was he raised on a shield and exhibited to the advancing multitudes as King of the Franks, but that preparations were immediately made for the inauguration of the new sovereign with religious rites and ceremonials. The Archbishop of Meitz

officiated, and anointed him with holy oil "after the manner in which David had been anointed by Samuel." Two years later the ceremony was repeated by the pope.

Fifty years passed and then occurred the coronation of Charlemagne as head of the Western Empire. His dominions reached from the shores of the Baltic to the Ebro, from the Atlantic to the Lower Danube, and from the German Ocean to the Adriatic. They thus included practically half the European Continent and all the richer and more important portions of the ancient Roman Empire. The time at which it took place was in the year A.D. 800. Charlemagne had assisted the pope to defeat a conspiracy which had been formed against him; His Holiness had been treated with personal violence and had very nearly lost his life, and Charlemagne had come to Rome to investigate the matter. The pope having been conducted to Rome from Paderborn—where he had had an interview with Charlemagne—with a great retinue of bishops and nobles, his enemies lost courage, and by the time the king arrived, there was no one to accuse him. Leo went into the pulpit and swore on the Gospels his innocence of the charges brought against him. A few days later, on Christmas Day, Charlemagne and his two sons attended

mass in St. Peter's Church. The pope was the celebrant, and the sacred edifice was thronged to its utmost capacity by a mixed assembly of Romans and Franks. The body of the church was in semi-darkness, for the only light in the nave fell from the high clerestory windows, and the gloom was further intensified by the heavy purple curtains which hung between the columns, and which proved a sombre setting to the sea of eager, upturned faces. The apse, however, was flooded with light, as not only was it studded with windows, but the great chandelier with its three thousand candles made a brilliant illumination. The rich shrine of the Apostle just below it, which was covered with plates of gold and silver and adorned with many jewels, seemed ablaze with light, and sparkled and reflected every ray; all of which gave an unusually magnificent appearance to the scene. The greatest treasures of the church, the beautiful Byzantine vestments and the rich vessels of gold and silver, were displayed, but it was those three kneeling figures in the apse who were the centre of all attention. There was an expectancy in the air, and a great hush fell on the worshippers as the service proceeded. Mass being ended, as Charlemagne, who was attired as a Roman patrician, rose from his knees, the pope advanced towards him, and suddenly producing a golden



CHARLEMAGNE.

From a mosaic in the Church of St. John de Lateran.

crown placed it on his head. Immediately the air was rent with shouts of "To Charles Augustus, the crowned of God, the great and pacific Emperor! Long life and victory." Led by Leo III. the congregation sang the *Laudes*, a litany in which intercession was invoked on the Emperor, his children, and his subjects. He was then anointed with holy oil—one chronicler tells us "from his head to his heels"—and invested with the imperial robe and insignia. The pope did homage to him, and afterwards crowned his son as his successor in the kingdom.

In honour of Charlemagne the coronation of the emperors of Germany always took place at Aix-la-Chapelle in the church which he had founded. Thirty emperors were crowned there, and until 1793 the regalia and robes belonging to the coronation were preserved here. The ceremony was always performed by the Archbishop of Mayence, and the sovereign-elect used to stand on a small mound of earth, which had been specially conveyed in a chest from Frankfort for the occasion, in commemoration of the fact that the election always took place in that city; the electors being summoned to assemble there by the Archbishop of Mayence. The kings of France were always crowned at Rheims and their queen consorts at the church of St. Denys, near Paris. The Spanish kings were crowned

either at Toledo or at Madrid, the kings of Poland at Guezna, the kings of Hungary at Pressburg, and the emperors of Russia at Moscow. The ancient kings of Scandinavia were elected in an open field, and the stone circles within which the ceremony took place may still be seen at Lunden in Scania, at Leyra in Zealand, and near Viburg in Jutland. The recent kings of Denmark have been crowned at Friedericksborg, and those of Sweden at Upsala.

Narrowing the subject down to our own country, we find that the ancient kings of Ireland were generally inaugurated on the summit of one of the sacred hills. In each principality or lordship some spot would be chosen, generally on an elevation, where the inaugural chair of the king or chieftain was deposited. These were frequently only great stones with the impression of two feet roughly hewn in them. The king-elect was formally conducted to this place, and seated on the stone with his feet in the grooves. Of the sacred stone on the Hill of Tara it is asserted that when the chief was a true successor, the stone was silent, but if he was a pretender, it groaned as with thunder. After the king had taken his seat, he was presented with a straight wand of a spotlessly white colour, with these words:—
 “Receive, O King! the auspicious badge of

your authority, and remember to imitate in your conduct the straightness and whiteness of this wand." He then rose, and holding it in his hand, came down from the stone and turned himself round first three times forward and then three times backward. One line of kings appears to have been inaugurated under the Bile-Magh-Adair, a sacred tree in the Plain of Adoration at Adair, which was cut down by King Malachy the Great in A.D. 982. It is uncertain whether the Irish kings ever wore crowns. A curious golden cap of great antiquity was once found in County Tipperary, which is believed by some antiquarians to have been a royal ensign. The border and the head are raised in chased work, and it seems to bear some resemblance to the close crown of the Eastern Empire, which was composed of the helmet together with the diadem.

In Scotland, the kings of old were inducted on the sacred stone of Scone, which used to stand before the cross in the eastern division of the chapel. The sovereign-elect was first invested with the sword, the crown was placed on his head, and the sceptre delivered into his hand. He then assumed the royal mantle, after which the nobles of the realm came in due order to do homage to him: kneeling before him they threw their robes beneath his feet in token of

their submission. An ancient bard of patriarchal appearance was then introduced. Venerable by reason of his hoary locks—for the oldest of their order was always chosen for this office, and clad in a flowing red garment, he would approach with the gentle dignity of old age, and saluting the newly installed king would begin a long recitation in his native language of the genealogy of all the Scottish kings and of their famous exploits. He was always heard with rapt attention, some of his most powerful passages striking fire into the audience, who with difficulty restrained their enthusiasm. Then concluding with a blessing on the new monarch, he would retire after having received first the thanks of the king and a handsome reward. Much the same scene was enacted at Islay, where the Lords of the Isles were crowned as independent sovereigns by the Bishops of Argyle. At their inauguration ceremony they stood on a massive stone, seven feet square, in which were hollows to receive their feet. They were invested with the sword of the late chieftain, and after swearing to continue their vassals in the possession of their lands and to do equal justice to all men, they were anointed by the bishop and seven priests in the presence of the chiefs of all the tribes of the Isles and of the Mainland. A recital of the famous deeds of their ancestors by a bard completed the ceremony.

According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, King Arthur of Round Table fame was crowned twice. On the first occasion the ceremony took place at Stonehenge, which Merlin had caused to be miraculously transported from Ireland to England. He states in his chronicle that King Aurelius was anxious to erect a great monument to the memory of the princes and priests who had been slain by Hengist at the monastery of Kaercaradoc, near Salisbury. While he was pondering in his mind how best to carry out this project, it was suggested to him that he should consult Merlin. "If any one living is able to execute your commands, Merlin, the prophet of Vortigern, is the man," his courtiers told him. On hearing this, Aurelius sent for Merlin to come to the Court, and on his arrival received him with great joy, and told him of the work he wished him to undertake.

• "If you are desirous to honour the burying-place of these men with an everlasting monument," said Merlin, "send for the Giants' Dance, which is in Killaraus, a mountain in Ireland. For there is a structure of stones there, which none of this age could raise without a profound knowledge of the mechanical arts. They are stones of a vast magnitude and wonderful quality; and if they can be placed here, as they are there, round this spot of ground, they will stand for ever." At these words of Merlin, Aurelius burst into laugh-

ter, and said, "How is it possible to remove such vast stones from so distant a country, as if Britain was not furnished with stones fit for the work?" Merlin replied, "I entreat your Majesty to forbear vain laughter; for what I say is without vanity. They are mystical stones, and of a medicinal virtue. The giants of old brought them from the farthest coast of Africa, and placed them in Ireland while they inhabited that country. Their design in this was to make baths in them, when they should be taken with any illness. For their method was to wash the stones, and put their sick into the water, which infallibly cured them. With the like success they cured wounds also, adding only the application of some herbs. There is not a stone there which has not some healing virtue." When the Britons heard this, they resolved to send for the stones, and to make war upon the people of Ireland if they should offer to detain them. And to accomplish this business they made choice of Uther Pendragon, who was to be attended with 15,000 men. They set sail, and with a fair wind arrived in Ireland. At that time Gillinganus, a youth of wonderful valour, reigned in Ireland; who, upon the news of the arrival of the Britons in his kingdom, levied a vast army, and marched out against them. But learning the occasion of their coming, he smiled, "No

wonder a cowardly race of people were able to make so great a devastation in the island of Britain," he said, "when the Britons are such brutes and fools. Was ever the like folly heard of? To arms, soldiers, and defend your country; while I have life they shall not take from us the least stone of the Giants' Dance." A battle was fought and the Irish were defeated, and Gillingmanus forced to flee. Arrived at the mountain of Killaraus, the sight of the stones filled the Britons with both joy and admiration. They all set their engines to work, and attempted to remove them. Some prepared cables, others small ropes, others ladders, but all to no purpose. Merlin laughed at their vain efforts, and then began his own contrivances. Having placed his engines in position, he took down the stones with incredible facility, and gave directions for carrying them to the ships, and for placing them therein. This done, they with joy set sail again to return to Britain; where they arrived with a fair gale, and repaired to the burying-place with the stones. Aurelius sent messengers to all parts of Britain, to summon the clergy and people to the mount of Ambrius, in order to celebrate with joy and honour the erection of the monument. Upon this summons appeared the bishops, abbots, and people of all other orders and qualities; and upon the day and place appointed for their general

meeting, Aurelius placed the crown upon his head, and with royal pomp celebrated the feast of Pentecost, the solemnity whereof he continued for the three following days. He then ordered Merlin to set up the stones brought over from Ireland about the sepulchre, which he accordingly did, and placed them in the same manner as they had been in the Mountain Killaraus.

Here, within the Giants' Dance, Aurelius was buried, and here, later, Arthur was crowned. Uther Pendragon having died of poison had also been interred within the Giant's Dance, and great trouble had come upon the country by reason of an invasion of the Germans, who had subdued the land from the Humber to Caithness. So Dubricius, Archbishop of Legions, grieving for the calamities of his country, in conjunction with the other bishops, set the crown upon Arthur's head. The historian adds that Arthur was then fifteen years old, and of such unrivalled courage and generosity, joined with a sweetness of temper and innate goodness as gained him universal love. When his coronation was over, he, according to usual custom, showed his bounty and munificence to the people. Eight years later, when the Germans had been driven out and his kingdom formally established, Arthur was crowned again at the City of Legions in Glamorganshire, "upon the river Uskè, near

the Severn Sea, which was most pleasant, and fit for such great solemnity. For the one side was washed by that noble river, so that the kings and princes from the countries beyond the seas might have the convenience of sailing up to it. On the other side, the beauty of the meadows, and magnificence of the royal palaces with lofty gilded roofs that adorned it, made it even rival the grandeur of Rome." Twelve kings were present, likewise many consuls, dukes, and prelates, and it is further stated that there remained no prince of any consideration on this side of Spain who did not come upon Arthur's invitation. The king in his royal vestments was conducted with great pomp to the Metropolitan Church, four golden swords were borne before him, and he was also attended with a concert of all sorts of music, which made most excellent harmony. The queen in her richest ornaments was conducted to the Temple of Virgins, four queens accompanied her, bearing before her four white doves; a retinue of women followed her, making all imaginable demonstrations of joy. When divine service was over at both churches, the king and queen put off their crowns, and putting on their lighter ornaments went to the banquet: he to one palace with the men, and she to another with the women. For the British still observed the ancient custom of Troy, by which

the men and women celebrated their festivals apart. Two thousand noblemen clothed in ermine served up the dishes to the king and his guests, and waited upon them with all kinds of cups and drinking-vessels, while in the queen's palace, innumerable waiters, dressed with every variety of ornaments, all performed their respective offices. When the banquets were over, they went into the fields outside the city to divert themselves with various sports. In this manner were three days spent.

Leaving the region of legend and coming down to more reliable sources of information, we find that Egbert was the first king who was ever described as King of England. There is certainly one charter in existence in which he is styled *Rex Anglorum*. The first English king of whose coronation we know anything is Alfred the Great, who was Egbert's grandson. Alfred was sent to Rome by his father at the age of five. During his sojourn there he was consecrated king by the pope. One old chronicler says he received the "regal unction and the crown," but as his father, King Ethelwulf, was still alive, it can only have been as heir apparent to the throne. On Ethelwulf's death he succeeded him, and was crowned at Winchester in the year 871. Of the ceremony no details have come down to us, but that a crown

was actually used is practically certain. When at the time of the Commonwealth the ancient regalia of England was "totallie broken and defaced," an inventory was made of the royal ornaments removed from Westminster to the Tower, which is still in existence. In it mention is made of a crown, called King Alfred's, which is described as of "gold wyerworke, sett with slight stones, and two little bells." "That the authentic crown of this illustrious king should have been preserved through so many ages may seem almost incredible, but yet a tradition of its existence may be found in a very early writer, Robert of Gloucester, who wrote in the time of Henry III." It appears to have been regarded as a precious relic of the great king, and it was consequently preserved with the greatest care. There is reason to think that it was considered the imperial crown of England, and that it was used at the coronation of all the succeeding sovereigns until the time of Charles I. The fame of Edward the Confessor seems rather to have eclipsed that of King Alfred, however, and from his time the crown became known as St. Edward's crown, but it was apparently the same one. In the year A.D. 886 Alfred became by common consent king over all England, excepting just those parts in the north and east which were still in the hands of foreigners, but

there does not appear to have been any formal acknowledgment of his supremacy.

Of the coronation of his grandson, Athelstan, we know a good deal. He was elected by the Witan at Winchester, but, contrary to custom, was not immediately crowned, preferring to have the remainder of the ceremony performed somewhere in the vicinity of London. He pitched his tent at Moreford, where there was a ford across the Thames, well known from the time of the Romans. It was easy of access to the large numbers of people who flocked together to show their approval of the Wessex Witan's decision and to attach themselves to the cause of the grandson of the great Alfred. A scaffold was erected in the market-place, and in full sight of the assembled multitudes Athelstan took his place on a stone seat. "He was a thin spare man," says the chronicler, "thirty years of age." His yellow hair was beautifully interwoven with threads of gold, and he was arrayed in a purple vestment. He wore a Saxon sword in a golden sheath attached to a jewelled belt, the gifts of King Alfred, who had presented them to him on the occasion of his coming of age. He was received with loud shouts of joy, and then, seated on a stage or target, he was carried to the church on the shoulders of his men, who in their enthusiasm tossed him into



INAUGURATION OF A KING.

From a Greek MS. of the twelfth century.

the air from time to time. Arrived at the church door the archbishop and a group of ecclesiastics were awaiting him, and with a prelate on either side of him he passed up the church to the altar steps, where he prostrated himself and remained for some time in private prayer. When he had finished his devotions the coronation ceremony was performed by the archbishop. The oath administered by Wulfhelm was as follows:—"In the name of Christ I promise three things to the Christian people, my subjects." In the first place that the Church of Christ and all the Christian people shall always preserve their peace under my auspices; secondly, that I will forbid rapacity and iniquities of every condition; and thirdly, that I will command equity and mercy in all judgments, that to me and to you the gracious Lord may extend His mercy." The Latin manuscript of the Gospels on which he took the oath, and which was used at the coronation of several other Saxon kings, has been preserved, and may be seen in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum. It is a beautiful specimen of the art of both writing and illuminating in the ninth century, though of the Continental rather than the Saxon school.

After Æthelstan several of the Saxon kings were inaugurated on the King's Stone as it

came to be called. It eventually gave its name to the town where it is still preserved on the site of the ancient palace, where nine centuries ago some of the coronations took place. The stone is a greywether or Druid's stone, and is supposed to have been an object of veneration long before the time of the Saxons. It was carefully preserved by the Britons, and was used by them for inaugurations and other important ceremonies. Ethelred II., surnamed the Unready, was one of the kings who was installed here. An ancient manuscript which gives the order of the service employed on the occasion is still in existence. The rite had become more elaborate by his time, and special directions are given for the ceremonies of the election, elevation, coronation and anointing of the king, as well as for his investiture with sword, sceptre, and rod. In fact the service is very much the same as that which is in use to-day at the coronation of English sovereigns. In Ethelred's time, however, there was no oath of fealty to be taken or homage to be rendered, as it was before the feudal system was introduced into England. These were added at a later date. The splendour of Ethelred's coronation was marred by the behaviour of Dunstan, who made a speech in which he uttered strong denunciations against the newly crowned king,

accusing him of the murder of the late king, his brother (of which crime it is more than likely that he was innocent), and declaring to the assembled people in a spirit of prophecy the calamities which would befall the kingdom during his reign, most of which actually came to pass.

Most of these coronations took place, in part, at least, in a church, as it had become usual to include the Communion Service in the ceremony. As a general rule the day chosen was a Sunday or some high festival. Of the Danish kings, Hardicanute is believed to have been crowned at Oxford, and Canute at London. Edward the Confessor was crowned at Winchester on Easter Day, 1043, "with great worship"; an unusually large number of ambassadors and representatives of foreign princes being present. There has always been some doubt as to the scene of the coronation of Harold. It was certainly in London, but whether at St. Paul's or at Westminster is not clear.

Edward the Confessor, judged from the point of view of a king, left a good deal to be desired. He was indeed a Saxon by birth, but in everything else he was a foreigner. By education and sympathies he was a Norman, and by him the Norman civilisation spread into England. But the English people only saw in him the last lineal descendant of Cerdic. The very fact of

his foreign education was in his favour in their eyes, as it had been necessitated by the occupancy of England by the hated Danes. When, utterly regardless of the troubled state of the kingdom, he announced his intention of making a pilgrimage to Rome in fulfilment of a vow, they saw in it a proof of his sanctity, and on his abandoning the project at receiving absolution from the pope on condition of his founding an Abbey to St. Peter, they willingly gave up one-tenth of the property of the nation to be expended on the building. There was an irresistible charm about the king, and he appears to have exercised a strange fascination over his people. In person he was beautiful. There was something ethereal about his snow-white hair, the almost hectic colour of his cheeks, the unnatural brilliancy of his eyes, and the transparency of his long white hands. His manners were gentle and affable, and to his rude hardy subjects he seemed to belong to a superior order of beings. The austerity of his life increased their awe and admiration of him, and the very contradictions of his character, his sudden bursts of mirth, his occasional abandonment to fury, only seemed to confirm them in the belief that their very inability to understand him was an argument in favour of his saintly character. He came to Westminster at mid-winter, for the

consecration of the Abbey he had built. On Christmas Day he appeared wearing his crown, according to custom, in honour of the festival, but the same day his strength failed and a mortal illness set in. "On the last day of the year a rally took place; his voice sounded loud and clear, and his face resumed its brightness." Two days later it was apparent to every one that the king was dying, and murmuring the hope that "he was passing from the land of the dead to the land of the living," he breathed his last, and "St. Peter his friend opened the gate of Paradise, and St. John his own dear one led him before the Divine Majesty."

In the confusion which followed on his death there appeared no element of consolation for the people. "A horror," it is said, "as of darkness filled the whole island when the news of his death was known." With him the ancient line of Cerdic had come to an end, and the future seemed dark and troubled. It was deemed expedient to hasten on his funeral and to appoint a successor. The next day, dressed in his robes of state, with his crown on his head, a crucifix of gold and a golden chain about his neck, and with his pilgrim's ring on his finger, he was laid to rest before the high altar of the church which he had built.

Directly the king died, the archbishop, as the

first man in the country, summoned the Witan. Edgar Atheling was the heir to the throne, and although the crown was elective, yet the right of primogeniture was by no means ignored, and under ordinary circumstances the eldest son succeeded his father. But Edgar was a child, and "the exigencies of the times were such that some one was required 'to fill the throne who would not only reign but rule; a man of vigour, strong in body and of a commanding mind. The majority of the Witanagentot acted on the principle of the Convention Parliament at a later period of our history. They appointed a person who, though not of royal blood, was by marriage related to the crown, and Harold was elected. He immediately conferred an earldom on Edgar to show that there was no hostile feeling towards the royal youth. On the throne of England was placed the grandson of a cowherd, 'tall, open-handed, handsome, the first man of his age.' " * It was felt that no time should be lost in installing the new king. The case was too urgent to allow of a delay, and no preparations were made for a great pageant. A few hours after the Confessor's body had been consigned to the grave amidst every expression of the deepest sorrow, the coronation of Harold took place.

It was the feast of the Epiphany. The

* Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*.

service was the same as had been used at the coronation of Ethelred II., to which allusion has already been made. All the chief men of the kingdom were there, and the set look in their faces told how the importance of the occasion had impressed them, for it was well known that Duke William of Normandy had set his heart on gaining the throne of England, and that the act which they were about to perform would arouse his strongest resentment. Harold was led up the church to the high altar, and in the gloom of a winter afternoon the rite was commenced. There was an air of confusion and an appearance of haste about the ceremony, just as if men feared an untimely interruption from without. The beautiful service with its quaint phraseology and rich imagery was hurriedly recited. Ealdred's voice trembled with earnestness as he prayed that the God who had made Abraham to triumph over his enemies, and who had given manifold victories to Moses and Joshua, who had raised David, "Thy holy child," to the summit of the kingdom, and freed him from the mouth of the lion, and the paws of the beast, and from Goliath, and from the malignant sword of Saul and his enemies, who had endowed Solomon with the ineffable gift of wisdom and peace, "would look down propitiously on our humble prayers, and multiply the gifts of Thy

blessing on this Thy servant, whom, with humble devotion, we have chosen to be King of the Angles and the Saxons. Surround him everywhere with the right hand of Thy power, that strengthened with the faithfulness of Abraham, the meekness of Moses, the courage of Joshua, the humility of David, and the wisdom of Solomon, he may be well pleasing to Thee in all things," so that "defended with the helmet and invincible shield of Thy protection, and surrounded with celestial arms, may he obtain the triumph of victory over all his enemies." The response must have been spoken from the very hearts of the stern, resolute men who heard him. As the service proceeded and one by one the rites were performed, men's faces brightened and they breathed more easily, and it must have been with lightened hearts that they heard and responded to the final benediction:—

"May the Lord Almighty give thee, from the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth, abundance of corn, wine and oil! May the people serve thee, and the tribes adore thee! Be, the lord of thy brothers, and let the sons of thy mother bow before thee: he who blesses thee shall be filled with blessings, and God will be thy helper: May the Almighty bless thee with the blessings of the heaven above, and in the mountains, and in the valleys with the

blessing of deep below ; with the blessing of the suckling and the womb ; with the blessings of grapes and apples ; and may the blessing of the ancient fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, be heaped upon thee ! Bless, Lord, the courage of this prince, and prosper the work of his hands ; and by Thy blessing may his land be filled with apples, with the fruits, and the dew of heaven, and of the deep below ; with the fruit of the sun and moon ; from the top of the ancient mountains, from the apples of the eternal hills, and from the fruits of the earth and its fulness. May the blessing of Him who appeared in the bush come upon his head, and may the full blessing of the Lord be upon his sons, and may he steep his feet in oil. With his horn, as the horn of the rhinoceros, may he blow the nations to the extremities of the earth ; and may He who has ascended to the skies be his auxiliary for ever."

So the mind of the nation was made up ; a new king had been elected and crowned and anointed. They would rally round him, and, undaunted, would face the worst that could happen. It was hoped that now England would once more be free and that the detested Normans would be for ever expelled. "An invasion was expected, but Harold the Saxon was supposed to be more than a match for William the Bastard."

CHAPTER III

CORONATIONS IN THE CONFESSOR'S ABBEY

“DUKE WILLIAM OF NORMANDY was hunting in the Park of Rouen, surrounded by a noble train of knights, esquires, and damsels, when a ‘serjeant,’ just arrived from England, hastened into his presence, and related the events which had happened”—Edward’s death, and Harold’s assumption of the crown. “The bow dropped out of the hand of the Norman, and he was unnerved by anxiety and surprise. William fastened and loosened his mantle, spake not, and looked so fierce and fell, that no one ventured to address him. Entering a skiff, he crossed the Seine, still silent; stalked into the great hall of the palace, threw himself into a seat, wrapped his head in his mantle, and bent his body downwards, apparently overwhelmed. ‘Sirs,’ said William de Breteuil, the seneschal, to the inquiring crowd, ‘ye will soon know the cause of our lord’s anxiety’; and then approach-

ing his master, he roused the Duke by telling him that everybody in the streets of Rouen would soon hear of the death of Edward, and of his claims to the succession. William instantly recovered from his reverie" * and began to consider his course of action. In ten months' time the struggle was over. The battle of Hastings had been fought and lost. Harold was defeated and killed, and William of Normandy was master of the kingdom.

The Westminster Abbey of the year 1066—a year which saw two coronations in London—was a very different place from the one with which we are acquainted. It was then a perfectly new building, fresh from the hands of the workmen, and was a sweeping innovation on all that had ever been seen before in England. No other church in this country had ever been cruciform in shape, and the massive pillars, the leaden roof, and the great blocks of stone of the foundation, were all in striking contrast to the rude wooden rafters and the beams of the usual Saxon churches. The east end was rounded into an apse, a tower rose in the centre crowned by a cupola of wood; at the western end stood two smaller towers with five large bells. The windows were filled with stained glass; the stones were rudely sculptured. Its great size, its new

* * Palgrave, *History of Normandy and England*.

form, and the hard grey stones, must have made it appear cold and unsympathetic to the people. But there was a wealth of legend connected with it, and it stood on ground that also was rich in tradition. There was but one grave in it, that of the Confessor ; at whose death the nation had been so sore stricken, and whose funeral, following so closely upon the dedication of the church, had seemed to point to a close connection between the new church and the late king, and to invest it with some of his personality.

Whether Harold was crowned here or not is a disputed point, but the first great ceremony of which we have any certain knowledge which took place within its walls after the Confessor's burial, is the coronation of William the Conqueror. The feast of the Epiphany had seen both the burial of the Confessor and the coronation of Harold. Men's hearts had failed them for fear, for the future had looked black, and perilous times had seemed to be at hand. The worst that they had dreaded had come to pass. Harold, on whom their hopes had been set, was dead, and the detested Normans had possessed themselves of the land. It was now Christmas Day, and the new king, the hated Norman duke, was to be invested with the ancient regalia of England and to wear the Confessor's crown. King Edward had expressly applied to the pope

to establish his new church as the place where the kings of England were, in future, to be crowned, and Nicholas II. had granted his request. By his express sanction, then, the Abbey Church was thus privileged above all others; and in strict accordance with the rules thus laid down, Duke William had chosen it for the scene of his inauguration.

He arrived in London on the afternoon of Christmas Eve, and spent the night at the palace at Blackfriars. The next morning he went down the river to London Bridge, where he landed and repaired to a house near London Stone. From here his procession started for Westminster. A splendid cavalcade escorted him, he was surrounded by all the trappings of royalty, and near his person, next to the Norman barons, rode the English nobles and officers of state. The streets near Westminster were lined with Norman soldiers, and Norman guards kept the approach to the church and surrounded the Abbey itself. Within the church all was in readiness. It was prepared and decorated in strict accordance with ancient custom; and the sacred building was filled with a mixed crowd of spectators of both nations. The procession entered. A number of clergy bearing crosses came first, then followed the bishops, and lastly came the great duke himself, walking between Eldred and Stigand, and accom-

panied by a brilliant company of the chief men both of his own land and of England. Amid the shouts of the people he passed on to the royal seat before the high altar, close to where the Confessor was buried, there to go through the same solemn rites which scarcely a year before had been performed over his fallen rival. The *Té Deum*, which had been sung over Harold, was now again sung over William, and there "before the altar, on the very gravestone of Edward, stood the fierce, huge, unwieldy William, the exact contrast of the sensitive, transparent king who lay beneath his feet."* When the moment arrived for the form of popular election the question had to be put twice, first by the Saxon prelate to the English, and then by the Norman prelate to the Normans. "The voices which on the Epiphany had shouted 'Yea, yea, King Harold,' at Christmas shouted with apparent zeal, 'Yea, yea, King William.' Men's hearts had not changed, but they had learned during that awful year to submit as cheerfully as might be to the doom which could not be escaped."† The Norman soldiery outside heard the sounds of the acclamation, and taking alarm set fire to the wooden house round the Abbey. A wild uproar followed. The noise of the tumult with-

* Stanley, *Westminster Abbey*.

† Freeman, *Norman Conquest*.

out 'overpowered the voices of the officiating clergy within; the glare of the flames threw a lurid light into the church, which fell on the pale horrified faces of the assembled people. In a few moments the church was empty, save for the king and the prelates. Men and women, nobles and poor alike, rushed out; some to save their property, some to quell the tumult, some to share in the plunder. "The king-elect, with the officiating prelates and clergy and the monks of the Abbey, alone remained before the altar. They trembled, and, perhaps for the first and the last time in his life, William trembled also. His heart had never failed him either in council or in battle, but here was a scene the like of which William himself was not prepared to brave. But the rite went on; the trembling duke took the oaths of an English king, the oaths to do justice and mercy to all within his realm, and a special oath, devised seemingly to meet the case of a foreign king—an oath that if his people proved loyal to him, he would rule them as well as the best of the kings who had gone before him. The prayers and litanies and hymns went on; the rite, hurried and maimed of its splendour, lacked nothing of sacramental virtue or of ecclesiastical significance. All was done in order: while the flames were raging around, amid the uproar and shouts which surrounded the holy place, Eldred

could still nerve himself to pour the holy oil upon the royal head, to place the rod and the sceptre in the royal hands. In the presence of that small band of monks and bishops the great rite was brought to its close, and the royal diadem, with all its gleaming gems, rested firmly on the brow of William, King of the English." *

Thus ended, amid a scene of the wildest confusion, the first undoubted Westminster coronation. The desire of Edward the Confessor has been fulfilled, and from that time forward up to the present time all the sovereigns of England have been enthroned in the Abbey. The Westminster clergy were especially privileged in the matter of the coronation. The abbot was officially appointed to instruct the new king in the order of the service, and the part which he had to play in it, and if unable to perform this office, the prior was empowered to act as his deputy. To this day "the dean and canons of Westminster, alone of all the clergy of England, stand by the side of the prelates at the coronation. On them, and not on the bishops, devolves the duty, if such there be, of consecrating the sacred oil. The dean has still charge of the 'Liber Regalis' containing the ancient Order of the

* Freeman, *Norman Conquest*.

Service," * and for a long time the regalia were confided to his custody. Since they have been removed to the Tower it has always been the custom to convey them to the Abbey on the day preceding the coronation, and to deliver them to the dean, who is responsible for their safety during the night, and for their production at the ceremony the next day.

When, after a reign of twenty-one years, William the Conqueror found he was dying, he turned himself on his weary bed and directed that a writ should be prepared, addressed to Lanfranc, commanding him to place William Rufus, his second son, on the throne. In spite of his pain and weakness he managed to affix his royal signet to it, and handing it to his son, kissed and blessed him and bade him farewell. William Rufus set sail immediately for England. Probably before the Conqueror was actually dead, certainly before the terrible funeral, he was devoting all his energies to making sure of the throne. He obtained possession of the royal treasures at Winchester, which amounted to £60,000 of silver, besides gold and jewels, and then made his way to London. Lanfranc was not personally inclined to regard him with favour, although he had himself educated the prince and had also in-

* Stanley.

vested him with the degree of knighthood ; but the letter from William was a strong argument, and having extracted solemn pledges from Rufus of future good government, both for the English people and for the Church, he finally declared for him. The English clergy followed his lead, and William was politic enough to fulfil the terms of his father's bequest to the monasteries and to the royal servants, and even added large gifts to the churches of the crucifixes and precious plate which the treasury contained. The English people received him with joy. A change of masters is always welcome ; they had no prince of their own to bring forward, and had, as yet, very little knowledge of the real character of Rufus. They rejoiced, too, at England being separated from Normandy once more. The coronation took place at Westminster seventeen days after the Conqueror's death, and lasted three days. On Sunday, September 26, 1087, the new king was consecrated by Lanfranc, the following day he was crowned, and on the third day he received the homage of the chief men of both nations.

In appearance we are told Rufus was a caricature of his father. He was short in stature, with a projecting stomach ; he had red hair, a ruddy face, and restless eyes. His manners were agreeable, and however great a

tyrant he may have been, he always managed to be popular with those of his immediate entourage. When on the third day of his coronation the English and Norman nobles appeared in large numbers to do him homage, there were many among them who had been won over to his cause by his tact, boldness, and wit. The coronation over, he returned to Winchester, which was still the capital of the kingdom and the residence of the sovereign.

The coronation of Henry I. was celebrated with even less preparation. He had accompanied his brother to the New Forest on that fatal Thursday afternoon; William de Breteuil, the keeper of the royal treasures, being also one of the party. No sooner was the king dead than they both rode off at headlong speed for Winchester: Henry to gain possession of the late king's unsquandered treasure, and de Breteuil to guard it against him, for he regarded Robert as the rightful heir to the throne. De Breteuil reached Winchester first, and when Henry rode up all breathless shortly afterwards, he resolutely contradicted his pretensions and denied his right and title. "We are all bound," he said, addressing the multitude, "by the promise which we have given to Robert, King William's first-born. We are his homagers; you, my lord Henry, are his homager. You, my

lord Henry, owe him allegiance ; and his absence renders the duty of fidelity but more stringent. He is away, a pilgrim of the cross ; and thus absent, the crown has devolved on him by the act of Providence." It was a critical moment. Robert was on his way home, and was actually close at hand. Within a week he might arrive in England. If Henry was to gain the throne, it must be then or never. He drew his sword and a violent scene ensued. The multitude wavered, and were more than half-inclined to side with Henry, who pleaded that he was English born and English by education, and that he spoke English as his native tongue. De Breteuil was forced ultimately to give way, and delivered the keys of the treasury to Henry. The baronage and the Clerks of the Chancery were already assembled, and the next day, before the late king's body had even been interred, Henry was elected at Winchester to the vacant throne. So far everything had gone well for him, but there was much still to be done. He instantly set out for London to prepare for his coronation. "At that time," says Fuller, "the present providing of good swords was accounted more essential to a king's coronation than the long preparing of gay clothes. Such preparatory pomp as was used in after-ages for the ceremony was now con-

ceived not only useless but dangerous, speed being safest to supply the vacancy of the throne." Two days later, on Sunday, August 5, 1100, in the presence of the chief of the clergy and of the baronage, of the sheriffs and of the chief officers of the realm, he was solemnly crowned and consecrated according to the ancient customs of the Anglo-Saxon kings. The ritual was observed in all its points, and he took the oath which Dunstan had penned as the security of the nation's rights. No time had been wasted in preparing for a brilliant spectacle, but the ancient forms were observed, and Henry swore to restore the laws of the Confessor's time and to undo the evil the late king had done. On one point alone was he obstinate: he refused point blank to surrender the forest lands, and announced his intention of keeping in his own hands the right of hunting throughout the whole kingdom. As he stood before the high altar in view of all the people he must have presented a strong contrast to his brother, the late king. In bodily frame he resembled the men of his family, for he was of moderate height, thick set and strongly made, inclining to corpulence. But his hair was black, and fell in waves over his forehead; his complexion was dark, and his high forehead and the thoughtful, soft expression of his eyes suggested the statesman rather than

the warrior. Very curious must have been the appearance of the courtiers who surrounded him. It was the fashion in those days, we read, "for those that thought themselves courtly" to wear "flowing hair and very extravagant dress. They vied with women in the length of locks, and wherever these were wanting, put on false tresses . . . then was invented the fashion of shoes with curved points; then the model for young men was to rival women in delicacy of person, to mince their gait, to walk with loose gesture and half naked." *

Henry I. died in Normandy. His nephew Stephen was one of those who attended him when he was on his death-bed, and he had also been one of the foremost to swear to him to support the claim of Matilda, Henry's daughter. Yet no sooner was the breath out of the king's body than he hurried from the bedside, and, taking ship, set sail for England. Dover and Canterbury closed their gates to him, but he was well received at both Winchester and London. Aided by the powerful support of his brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, he obtained possession of the Royal Treasury and gained the adherence of the citizens of London and of many of the chief men of the kingdom. In less than three weeks he had

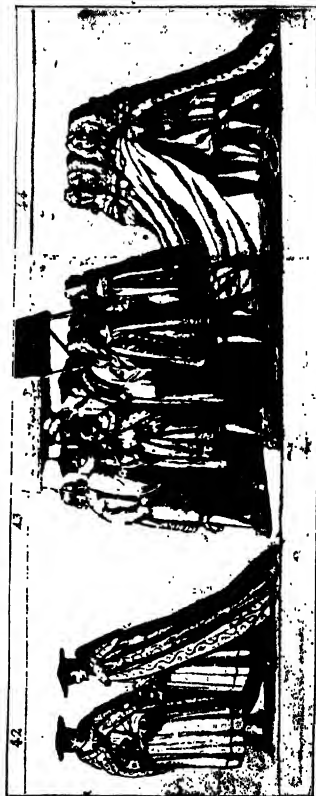
* Wright, *Domestic Manners*.

secured the throne, but although he was duly elected, his coronation was not well attended. None of the abbots were present and very few of the barons. The service was hurriedly performed. By some grave error the kiss of peace was omitted, and, worse than that, the Host given at the Communion mysteriously disappeared, and no one was able to say what had become of it. These signs were much commented on, and when the troubles of his reign came thick and fast, it was urged that they had presaged the disasters which were in store for the English nation. "The mildest of men on earth," says the historian, "the slowest to take offence, and the readiest to pardon; very easy of speech to the poor, and the most liberal of alms"; an open and free-hearted man, with a word and jest for all about him, and with flashes of knightly generosity, Stephen was yet unable to control the turbulent nobles of his kingdom. The history of the nineteen years of his reign is one of anarchy and evil of every kind.

But these long miserable years were productive of some good in the long run. As his reign was remembered as one of the most wretched in the history of the country, so future kings learnt from the evils which befell Stephen the necessity of being wary, popular,

and moderate; and the people on their side came to favour the doctrine of hereditary succession, and to see the disastrous results of powerful nobles like Harold and Stephen being allowed to possess themselves of the throne. So when Henry II. claimed the throne in fulfilment of the agreement made during Stephen's lifetime, he was joyfully received. He crossed from Normandy in a storm of wind, and only narrowly escaped shipwreck. From Hurst Castle he proceeded to Winchester, where he had a most enthusiastic welcome, and his journey to London was like a triumphal procession. He was crowned at Westminster on the Sunday before Christmas Day, 1154, amid circumstances of great splendour. For the first time the bishops and clergy wore sumptuous robes of silk velvet worked in gold embroidery, in imitation of the vestments worn by the priests of the Greek Church. The dalmatica, with which Henry was invested, was of the richest brocade covered with gold embroidery. He was, one of the historians tells us, "a man soldiers loved to look at," for he was well proportioned and he bore himself well. The doublet and short Angevin cloak he wore at the ceremony gained him the sobriquet of "Courtmantle." His queen, Eleanor, and her ladies were magnificently dressed in silk and

FROM THE CORONATION PROCESSION OF CHARLES II.



25. Rouge Croix and Blue Mantle.

26. Viscounts.

27. Heralds.

28. Earls.

42, 43, 44. King walking under canopy borne by the
Barons of the Cinque Ports.

brocade of a new fashion and costly texture, which the queen had introduced from Constantinople. So once more there were gay scenes at a coronation, and after a century of strife and turmoil a king ascended the throne under peaceful conditions.

His son and successor, Richard I., was the first monarch whose coronation may in any way be compared with the magnificent ceremonies of modern times. The country was so far settled now that on his accession there was no rival claimant, and three months elapsed before his inauguration took place in order that suitable preparation for it might be made. On the morning of the appointed day an imposing procession, in which the Archbishops of Canterbury, Rouen, Tours, and Dublin, many bishops and barons, and a large body of clergy bearing the cross, holy water, censers and tapers, took part, met him at the door of his privy chamber in the Palace of Westminster, and escorted him to the Abbey. The whole of the way up to the high altar was spread with cloth of Tyrian dye. A gorgeous canopy, borne by four nobles, was held over his head, and immediately preceding him were twelve earls and barons carrying the regalia. Supported by the Bishop of Durham on one side and the Bishop of Bath on the other, Richard advanced

to the high altar, where he took the oath. He was then divested of his upper garments to his shirt which was open to the shoulders, and he was anointed on the head, shoulders, and right arm. A white linen coif was placed on his head to keep the holy oil from running down, and the cap of maintenance was placed above it. When the moment arrived for the coronation, Richard took the crown from the altar and handed it to the archbishop, who placed it on his head. It was so heavy that two earls supported it while he wore it.

After the investiture, high mass was celebrated, during which the king offered a mark of pure gold on the altar. But one slight incident occurred which was much commented on. During the ceremony a large bat was observed fluttering about the church. It appeared during the brightest hours of the day and circled always in the same tracks, which were round and round the king's throne. It was a superstitious age, and the people looked at one another in consternation as if to ask what it could possibly presage, and they forgot to watch the progress of the service in the alarm they felt at this sight. At the conclusion of the ceremony the procession re-formed, and the king was conducted back to the Palace. He was glad to exchange his heavy crown and

the ponderous royal robes for a lighter dress, and in these he dined.

But the banquet was disturbed by a most untoward occurrence. An order had been issued that on that day all Jews and witches should keep out of the royal presence. The Jews had been allowed to attend other coronations, but as it had been suggested that they came only to exercise a baneful influence by their enchantments, they were forbidden to be present on this occasion. Some of their leading men, however, desirous of conciliating the new sovereign by a prompt expression of their attachment, came forward with rich presents. Others mingled with the crowd to hail the king and to behold the ceremony. They were discovered and the irate nobles set upon them with clubs and beat them unmercifully. A ridiculous rumour got abroad that the king had given orders that all Jews were to be put to death. The population prepared at once to carry out the supposed command. Any weapon that came to hand was good enough; and any Jew who could be found was murdered or ill-treated; their possessions were plundered and their houses set on fire. When the noise of the tumult first reached the royal table the king asked the cause of it. The door-keeper answered, "Nothing! only the boys rejoice and

are merry at heart." But the sounds grew louder, and soon it was impossible to keep the truth from the king. By his orders the door-keeper was seized, and the next day he was dragged to death at the tails of horses. In vain did Richard send his Justiciary and his nobles to stem the popular madness: their exhortations were disregarded and their persons menaced. Nothing could restrain the ferocity of the multitude until the wild torrent of the racial hatred had run itself out. Amid the desolation caused by these terrible scenes the sun went down. Then, in the stillness of the last hour of the day, a mysterious peal of bells was heard from the Abbey towers. By whom it was rung no man knew, for it was "without agreement or knowledge of the ministers of the Abbey." They were not even aware of it until after it was over. To the overwrought nerves of all who had witnessed the manifold events of that dreadful day the very air seemed heavy with portents of ill omen, and no man spoke of it but in a whisper.

An interregnum of seven weeks followed the death of Richard I. He died on April 6, 1199, and John did not commence to reign until May 27. He then obtained the crown by election and by the consent and approbation of his subjects, rather than by hereditary succession, for

Arthur, the son of his brother Geoffrey, was the rightful heir. The title he assumed was that of King of England and Duke of Normandy, whereas all the Norman kings from William the Conqueror had styled themselves hitherto kings or dukes of their people, and not of their dominions. At his coronation the Barons of the Cinque Ports appeared for the first time. In return for the assistance they had rendered him in his voyages to and from Normandy they were given the privilege of supporting the canopy over the king's head in the royal procession from the Palace to the Abbey, and also to hold it over him when he was unclothed for the sacred unction. His deportment during the ceremony was indecorous in the extreme. During his investiture as Duke of Normandy he paid but little attention to what was going on, but seeing some of his lawless associates amusing themselves, laughed aloud at their antics. Later, when the spear was formally placed in his hand, he was so convulsed with laughter at something else he saw going on in the church, that he let it fall, and one of the prelates stooped down and raised it and placed it in his hand once more. More than this, he declared himself so wearied with the long ceremonial that he hurried away without receiving the Holy Sacrament. All of which incidents were severely commented on.

When his disastrous reign came to its inglorious end, England was in a peculiar state of political embarrassment. With a legal native sovereign in Henry III., then nine years of age, it had also a foreign prince, who had been invited into the country with the promise of the crown; whose assistance had preserved the nobles from destruction, and who had at that time the military occupation of several of the counties. Gratitude would have sanctioned the coronation of Louis; national interest required the accession of Henry. The nation was thus divided. About half the nobles and clergy decided in favour of Henry. London being in the hands of the Dauphin, Henry was hurriedly crowned at Gloucester nine days after King John's death. As none of the regalia were available, and as the royal luggage had been lost while crossing the Wash, a plain gold fillet was used as a crown. After being crowned, the child-king was dressed in royal robes by the bishops and knights and conducted to the banquet, where was great feasting and rejoicing. In order to impress upon the people the fact that Henry had really been crowned, a royal proclamation commanded that for the space of a whole month no lay person, male or female, was to appear in public without a chaplet.

Four years later, when the French had been

expelled, Henry was crowned again. This second ceremony took place at Westminster. The king wore a robe of the best purple samite, a rich kind of silk, embroidered with three leopards in front and three behind. His sandals were fretted with gold, each square of gold containing a lion or a leopard. The young king was deeply impressed by the service and also by the fact of the double coronation, and inquired wonderingly of Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, what was the precise grace wrought in a king by the unction. Grossetête, who was the greatest theologian of the age, answered with some hesitation that it was the sign of the king's special reception of the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit "as in Confirmation," with which vague answer Henry had to be satisfied. At the coronation banquet the feasting and joviality were so great that the oldest man present could remember nothing like it.

This was the last coronation which took place in the Confessor's Church. The day before he was crowned for the second time, Henry III. laid the foundation of a new Lady Chapel, and later in life he carried out his long-cherished scheme of rebuilding the entire edifice. He was animated by a strong personal sentiment towards his English ancestors, and a deep veneration for the memory of Edward the Confessor; he was

also deeply religious and was further characterised by a great love of art in all its forms. The new church was to be the most magnificent shrine of the age ; it was to be a memorial to the saintly Edward ; and it was to serve as the future burial-place of the kings of England. The Confessor's Church with its many associations was torn down, and in its place arose the present beautiful Abbey. He lived to see the completion of the choir and of the east end of the church. When it was ready, the remains of St. Edward were translated to their new resting-place with every circumstance of pomp and stately ceremonial. The relics, which had been for the time confided to the care of the clergy of St. Paul's, were conveyed hither in solemn procession, the king himself taking part in it, and bearing in his hands the precious phial containing some drops of the Holy Blood. In honour of the occasion his eldest son, Prince Edward, who was about to start for the Holy Land, received the dignity of knighthood.

CHAPTER IV

CORONATIONS FROM 1272-1558

PRINCE EDWARD was still in Palestine when the news of the death of his father and also of his young son reached him. The short, stout, ungainly old man with the blinking left eye, who was more fitted to be a priest than a king, had many lovable qualities, and the prince mourned his loss so deeply, that the death of his son barely seemed to affect him. "God may give me many sons," he said, "but not another father." The succession to the throne was so safe that he did not consider it necessary to unduly hasten his return. "His journey through Italy was a triumphal procession," says Lingard; "he was considered as the champion of Christendom and a martyr of the Cross; at every city the magistrates, clergy, and people came out to receive him; the Milanese forced on his acceptance valuable presents of horses and scarlet cloth. At the foot of Mont Cenis he was met by the Count of Savoy; and soon afterwards

received the congratulations of a body of English knights and prelates." As he neared England, directions were sent on before him respecting his coronation. So splendid was the banquet to be that a new kitchen of extraordinary size had to be built, and from the builder's accounts we find that the boiled meats for it were prepared in leaden vessels. Three hundred and eighty head of cattle, four hundred and thirty sheep, four hundred and fifty pigs, eighteen wild boars, two hundred and seventy-eight fitches of bacon, and nearly twenty thousand capons and fowls were ordered to be served up on this occasion. When about two years after his father's death Edward at last reached England he was received with the most extravagant expressions of joy. The London merchants threw gold and silver out of their windows as he rode past their houses, to testify to their delight at seeing him. His was the first coronation in the new Abbey, and his queen was crowned with him. The king of Scotland was present, as was also the duke of Bretagne; the king of Wales had been expected, but he did not appear, at which Edward chose to feel himself slighted, and thus began the quarrel between the two countries. So great was the display made on this occasion that over five hundred horses, which had been ridden to the banquet by the

king, the king of Scotland, the princes and their respective suites, were turned loose among the crowd, and any one who chose could take one for his own.

Tall, broad-breasted and sinewy, with the vaulted forehead of the Norman and the yellow hair of the Saxon, Edward looked the ideal sovereign of his race, and a slight infirmity of speech detracted nothing from his ready power of persuasion, or lessened the charm he exercised over his subjects.

By the time Edward II. came to the throne, Wales had been added to the English throne. This coronation was very much mismanaged, and was not the great spectacle that the inauguration of the previous sovereigns had been. It was an occasion rather of humiliation, and of gloomy forebodings for the chief officers of state and the nobles. The war in Scotland had not been continued, and the great promises of Edward I.'s undertaking had not been fulfilled. It was nine months since Edward I. had died, and the prestige of the kingdom was already considerably lowered by the conduct of the new king. Edward and his queen, Isabella, were crowned together on Shrove Tuesday, February 6, 1308. In the absence of the primate, who was abroad, Woodlock, Bishop of Winchester, officiated, much to the disgust of the barons, who

regarded his selection as an insult to the memory of the late king, as he had conspired against him. The oath was still administered to the king in French. The whole of the order of the ceremony was arranged by Gaveston, Edward's unprincipled favourite, who had been banished during the late king's reign, but who was recalled as soon as Edward II. succeeded to the throne. From beginning to end it was a scene of confusion and disorder.

"It was done with such haste and precipitancy," says one historian, "that there was no reverence or grace about it." Gaveston carried the crown in the procession, to the great disgust of the nobles, who strongly resented this privilege having been conferred on him. "He was the most splendid figure there," says Speed; "none was near to Piers in bravery of apparell, or delicacie of fashion." The king's offerings upon the altar were a pound of gold fashioned like a king holding a ring in his hand, and afterwards a mark, or eight ounces of gold, made like a pilgrim putting forth his hand to receive the ring. It was three o'clock before the consecration of the king and the queen was over, and as the days were short the banquet was protracted until after dark. A thousand pipes of good wine had been ordered from Bordeaux the previous year for it. The food was badly cooked and ill served,

there being a total want of management about everything. In the church so little arrangement had been made for managing the enormous crowd that one of the knights, Sir John Bakewell, was trodden to death. The queen experienced so many slights, but whether intentional on the part of Gaveston or not is not known, that she wrote to her father, the king of France, to complain of the treatment she had received. An illustration in an old manuscript represents Edward II. seated on a light red throne; he appears dressed in a blue robe lined with ermine; his arms and his hose are red, and his shoes are of a darkish brown.

After an unhappy reign of twenty years, Edward II. was deposed, and his son, Edward, was unanimously chosen to reign in his stead by a general assembly of the nobles and clergy in the Abbey at Westminster. The prince refused to accept the crown until his father had voluntarily resigned it, and Edward was then induced to formally abdicate in his son's favour. Ten days later Edward III. was crowned in the Abbey, having previously been dubbed a knight by the Earl of Lancaster assisted by the Count of Hainault. The circumstances of the coronation were peculiar. The late king was a prisoner in the hands of his unscrupulous enemies, and his ultimate fate was uncertain.

The new king was only fourteen years of age and was consequently a minor, and in the unsettled state of the country a firm government was very necessary. The prospect of a regency under Queen Isabella, the "She Wolf" of France, was not calculated to inspire much confidence in the hearts of the people. She had been the chief agent in procuring her husband's downfall, and the ascendancy of her party was considered only one degree better than the rule of the ex-king. So it was felt on all sides, although no open expression was given to the thought, that a further struggle was imminent. The queen was present at the coronation and affected to weep. The Archbishop of Canterbury placed the crown on the king's head, and the ceremony was remarkable for the circumstance that the sword of state and the shield of state were carried before the sovereign for the first time. It was the first instance, too, of commemorating the king's accession by a proclamation of a general pardon to prisoners. A coronation medal is said to have been struck having on one side the young king crowned, laying his sceptre on a heap of hearts surrounded by the motto, *Pópulo Dat Jura Volontes*, and on the reverse a hand stretched out to save a falling crown with the motto, *Non Rapit Sed Accipit*. Thus, with heavy overhanging clouds

obscuring the political horizon, was inaugurated the reign of one of the most brilliant princes who ever occupied the throne of England.

The great events which occurred in the early part of his reign, and the brilliant scenes which accompanied them, tended to increase the popular love of costly ceremonials and a lavish display, so that when Richard II., the grandson of Edward III. and son of the famous Black Prince, came to the throne, no pains were spared to make his coronation a truly magnificent affair. The previous week the young king spent at the Tower in token that he was lord of the turbulent city. The day before that appointed for the coronation, St. Swithin's Day, he rode in procession through the street called "La Chepe," and on to Westminster. He was dressed all in white, and was accompanied by every circumstance of royal pomp. The streets were cleared of all passengers that they might be properly cleansed, and barricades were put up to keep off the pressure of the crowd. The houses of all the citizens were decorated with tapestry, bands were placed at certain points, triumphal arches were erected, the conduits ran wine, and along the line of route all manner of pageants and goodly shows were arranged, from which fine speeches and many compliments were addressed to the king as he passed. The aldermen of the

city in their civil gowns, bearing staves in their hands wherewith to control the people, were in Cheapside, and the City Companies, all arrayed in their several habits of ceremony, were ranged in the various streets along which the royal procession was to pass. The king was attended by a numerous multitude of nobles, knights, and esquires; a body of new knights occupied a conspicuous position in the procession. They had been created the previous day, and had been solemnly bathed before either taking their vows or assuming the knightly dress, and were, probably, the beginning of the Knights of the Bath, who from this time forward until the reign of James II. formed part of the coronation ceremony. This is the first instance, also, of a coronation procession through London—a custom which was continued until the time of the Stuarts, Charles II. being the last king at whose coronation it took place.

Arrived at Westminster the king entered the Palace, where he passed the night. The next day the coronation took place with great solemnity. The king, arrayed in fairest vestments, with buskins on his feet, came down into the Hall and went in procession to the church. The coronation oath was no longer in French, but for the first time in Latin. He was presented to the people by the Archbishop



THE KING'S CHAMPION.

of Canterbury and the Earl Marshal, Lord Percy. We have a more perfect copy of the ritual of this service than of any other up to this period, and it has been the basis of all succeeding coronations. The king was obliged to receive the Communion fasting, and before the long ceremony was over he was quite worn out with fatigue and exhaustion. At its conclusion he was borne fainting out of the church on the shoulders of four knights, the Earl Marshal and other great nobles mounting their chargers to clear a way for them through the immense concourse of people which had assembled. The Champion, attended by his shield-bearer and spear-bearer, and mounted on a magnificently caparisoned horse—the best save one in the king's stables—was awaiting their return to deliver his challenge. Thinking his opportunity had now come, he placed himself directly in their way. But the Earl Marshal unceremoniously bade him begone, and told him to wait for his perquisite until the king had sat down to dinner, and in the meantime that he had better unarm himself, take his rest and ease awhile. Much discomfited, Sir John Dymoke was compelled to beat an ignominious retreat. He appeared again with much state during the royal banquet in Westminster Hall, and throwing down his gauntlet three times proposed to

engage in mortal combat with any one who dared to dispute the king's title. The customary perquisites were the horse and armour, which could be claimed if a combat ensued, but in other cases whether they became the champion's property or not, depended on the king's pleasure. In Edward III.'s reign the manor of Scrivelsly, in Lincolnshire, was held by the service of finding on the day of the coronation an armed knight ready to prove, by his body if necessary, that the king was the true and lawful heir; so this is probably the first appearance of a champion on such an occasion, and it is the first mention of a Dymoke. The office remained in the Dymoke family until the coronation of George IV., which is the last occasion on which it was performed. The banquet at Richard II.'s coronation was as splendid as the extravagance of the age could make it. In the Palace yard was a great hollow marble column, surmounted by a gilt eagle. From each of the four sides ran fountains of wine, which were different in kind at various hours of the day, and anybody who wished to, was able to drink therefrom. After dinner the king retired, with a number of nobility, to his chamber, and was entertained with minstrelsy and dancing until supper-time. This was also the first occasion on which the Court of Claims ever met to decide upon the

rights of those claiming to perform offices at the coronation.

As Henry IV. was regarded in many quarters as a usurper, he was not likely to allow his coronation ceremony to be inferior, in point of view of pomp and ceremony, to that of his predecessor, and it was, if anything, even more magnificent. There was the same creation of new knights at the Tower and a procession to Westminster the previous day. Henry was mounted on a white charger and rode with bared head. He was dressed in a suit of cloth of gold and wore two orders, the Garter, and an order the King of France had given him. The Prince of Wales, six dukes, six earls, and eighteen barons accompanied him, and there were nearly a thousand knights and other nobility in the procession. Many gentlemen rode with their servants in liveries and badges, and the City Companies were there, too, led by their wardens, clothed in purple livery and bearing the ensigns of their trades. In all, nearly six thousand horse composed the cavalcade. The streets of London were handsomely decorated, and nine fountains, running red and white wine were in the streets through which they passed.

Nothing was left undone to cover the defects of the king's title. He came to the Abbey the

next day with ostentatious unpunctuality ; having heard three masses, he spent long hours with his confessor during the day, possibly to atone for his usurpation. The day was October 13, 1399, the great festival of the Abbey. The service began at nine o'clock in the morning. In the midst of the church was a high scaffold all covered with red, on which was placed the royal chair, which was covered with cloth of gold. The king took his seat here in state while the archbishop asked at the four sides whether the people would have him for their king. On being thus elected, he was anointed in six places with the holy oil, contained in a newly discovered ampulla, which was said to have been given by the Virgin Mary to St. Thomas à Becket in a crystal phial for the coronation of the Kings of England. It had lain forgotten at the Tower for many years, until its existence was revealed to the Black Prince by a hermit, but in some unaccountable way it had been overlooked at the coronation of his son. The king was attended by large numbers of the nobility, some few of whom did not appear with a good grace, as they were not favourable to Henry's accession ; but there was no open manifestation of ill-will. At the banquet the king sat at the first table with two archbishops and seventeen bishops. The prince stood by him holding the sword of the

Church, on the other side was the Constable with the sword of justice, and beyond, the Marshal with the sceptre. At the second table sat the peers of the realm; at the third, the citizens of London; at the fourth, the newly created knights; and at the fifth, the knights and esquires of honour. The Champion had arranged his plans better this time, and did not appear until during the course of the dinner, when he came in fully armed and on horseback. No one was found to accept his challenge, and he rode three or four times round the Hall as if seeking combat.

Henry IV. outlived his popularity, and when he died the accession of his son was hailed with great joy. In spite of his wild youth, the new king appears to have been greatly beloved by the people. In appearance he was above medium height and "beautiful of visage, his neck long, body slender and lean, and his bones small; nevertheless he was of marvellous great strength and passing swift in running, insomuch that he and two other of his lords, without hounds or bow or other engine, would take a wild bucke or doe in a large park."* He went about commonly with his head uncovered, and "the wearing of armour was no more cumbersome to him than the wearing of a cloak; he

* Stowe's *Annals*.

never shrunk at a wound nor turned his nose away for ill-savour, nor closed his eyes for smoke or dust; in diet none less dainty or more moderate." * So beloved was he, that three days after his father died, "the estates of the realm offered to do fealtie to him before he was crowned or had solemnized his oath, well and justly to govern the common weale, which offer before was never found to bee made to any prince of England." He was crowned at Westminster on Passion Sunday, April 13, 1413. "It was a sore, ruggie, and tempestuous day," says the chronicler, "with wind, snow, and sleet, that men wondered greatly thereat, making diverse interpretations what the same might signifie." At the banquet, in order to lend unusual magnificence to the scene, many of the nobility attended mounted on their chargers, and were ranged on horseback on large war horses round the tables. Scenes of his coronation were sculptured on the chantry above his shrine in Westminster Abbey, and may still be seen there.

At his death, his son, Henry VI., was only nine months old. A council was held at Windsor a month later, at which the infant-king was present with his nurse, and at which he was supposed to preside. The great seal

* Fuller, *Church History*.

was placed into his lap by the Lord Chancellor, but he was too young even to play with it. "It was a strange sight," says Speed "(and the first time that ever it was seene in England), which in the next yeare happened, an infant sitting in the Mother's lap, before it could tell what English meant, to exercise the place of Sovereign direction in open Parliament. Yet so it was, for the Queene to illumine that publique convention of States with her Infant's presence removed from Windsor to London; which Citie (herself royally seated with her young sonne upon her lap) passed in majestick manner to Westminster, and there took seate among his Lordes." When he was nine years old he was crowned at Westminster with great solemnity. Thirty-six Knights of the Bath were created the previous day. A high scaffold was erected in the Abbey covered with red, upon which he was placed for the anointing. Then he was seated in the royal chair "beholdynge the people all abowte sadly and wysely." He was arrayed in rich cloth of gold, and the crown he wore, the historian quaintly adds, "which crowne the kyng dyd doo make for hymself." At the banquet the Mayor and Aldermen of London had a table to themselves on the left side of the hall. The bishops, the clergy, knights, and esquires were in the body of the Hall, and the king's heralds, all

wearing crowns, were stationed on a high scaffold all the time, only coming down when Sir Philip Dymoke, the king's Champion, came in after the first course, "bright as Séynt George," to proclaim the king, when they escorted him and preceded him in his progress round the Hall. Two years later Henry was crowned as King of France in Paris. He entered the French capital from St. Denys, being met by the national and municipal authorities, who, in the true spirit of the time, were accompanied by "Nine Worthies sytting richely on horseback, armed with the armes to them apperteyning." He was thus escorted to the Church of Notre Dame, where he was crowned and anointed by the Bishop of Winchester. On his return to the palace, he wore a crown on his head, and another was borne before him on a cushion.

Edward IV.'s coronation took place in the midst of the Wars of the Roses. The House of Lancaster had lost the sympathy of the nation. It is said that after their victory at Wakefield the queen's party "rushed like a whirlwind all over England, and plundered it without respect of persons or place. They attacked the churches, took away their vessels, books, and clothes; even the sacramental pyxes, shaking out the eucharist; and slew the priests who resisted. So they acted, for a breadth of thirty miles, all

the way from York nearly up to London.”* So it is not surprising to read that the warmest sympathies of the people had raised Edward to the throne, and even the Church, abandoning the House of Lancaster, had contributed both to elevate and support him. The date of Edward’s coronation was twice altered. It was originally to have been in March 1461, but, owing to the siege of Carlisle it was postponed until June 28, which was the Sunday after Midsummer. Great importance had always been attached to the selection of a lucky day for a coronation ceremony, and a festival or a Sunday was usually chosen. When it was pointed out that the twenty-eighth of any month was believed to be unlucky on account of ‘the Innocents’ Day being on the twenty-eighth, the date was immediately changed, and the following day fixed upon. Despite the unsettled state of the kingdom, the ceremony was as imposing as usual. The king was at his Palace of Sheen until two days previous, when he came to London. The mayor and aldermen, in scarlet, and four hundred citizens, clad in splendid liveries of green, and well horsed, went out to meet him, and conducted him to the Tower. Here all the nobility and great nobles who had assisted him were

* Turner, *Middle Ages*.

sumptuously entertained, and thirty-two new knights created. The next afternoon the procession through the streets of London to Westminster took place. He was crowned two days in succession, and then rode in state, wearing a crown, to St. Paul's, "and there an Angell came down and censed him, at which time was so great a multitude of people in Paules as ever was seene in any dayes." * After the coronation the king created his two brothers dukes, and conferred earldoms and baronies on some of his strongest supporters.

Edward V. only reigned a little more than two months. Preparations were in progress for his coronation, the banquet was ordered, the state robes were prepared; then occurred Richard III.'s usurpation, shortly after which the young king died.

Few coronations have been more splendid than that of Richard III. Many accounts of it have survived to our times, and they all describe it as being unusually magnificent. Three dukes, nine earls, two viscounts, twenty barons, and seventy-eight knights, all most richly apparelled, rode in the procession from the Tower to Westminster the day before the coronation. The trappings of the horse ridden by the Duke of Buckingham were so heavy with their

* Stowe.

embroideries in gold, that footmen walked on each side to support them. On the following day, a far more gorgeous procession passed from the great Hall at Westminster to the neighbouring Abbey. First issued forth the trumpets and clarions, the serjeants-at-arms, and the heralds and pursuivants carrying the king's armorial insignia. Then came the bishops with mitres on their heads, and the abbots with their croziers in their hands; Audley, Bishop of Rochester, bearing the cross before Cardinal Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. Next followed the Earl of Northumberland carrying the pointless sword of mercy; Lord Stanley bearing the mace; the Duke of Suffolk with the sceptre; the Earl of Lincoln with the cross and globe; and the Earls of Kent and Surrey, and Lord Lovell, carrying other swords of state. Before the king walked the Earl Marshal of England, the Duke of Norfolk, bearing the crown, and immediately after him followed Richard himself, gorgeously arrayed in robes of purple velvet, furred with ermine, with a coat and surcoat of crimson satin. Over his head was borne a rich canopy supported by the Barons of the Cinque Ports. On one side of him walked the Bishop of Bath, and on the other the Bishop of Durham; the Duke of Buckingham held up his train.

The procession was followed by a long train of earls and barons.

“After the procession of the king followed that of the queen. The Earl of Huntingdon bore her sceptre; the Viscount Lisle the rod and dove; and the Earl of Wiltshire her crown. Then came the queen herself, habited in robes of purple velvet furred with ermine, having ‘on her head a circlet of gold with many precious stones set therein.’ Over her head was borne a ‘cloth of estate.’ On one side of her walked the Bishop of Exeter; on the other, the Bishop of Norwich. A princess of the blood, the celebrated Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII., supported her train. After the queen walked the king’s sister, Elizabeth, Duchess of Suffolk, having ‘on her head a circlet of gold’; and after her, followed the Duchess of Norfolk and a train of high-born ladies, succeeded by another train of knights and squires.”

“Entering the Abbey at the great west door, the king and queen ‘took their seats of state, staying till diverse holy hymns were sung,’ when they ascended to the high altar, where the ceremony of anointment took place. Then ‘the king and queen put off their robes, and there stood all naked from the middle upwards, and anon the bishops anointed both the king and queen.’ This ceremony having been performed,

they exchanged their mantles of purple velvet for robes of cloth of gold, and were solemnly crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the other bishops. The archbishop subsequently performed high mass, and administered the holy communion to the king and queen; after which they offered at St. Edward's shrine, where the king laid down King Edward's crown and put on another, and so returned to Westminster Hall in the same state they came."

"The banquet, which took place at four o'clock in the great Hall, is described as having been magnificent in the extreme. The king and queen were served on dishes of gold and silver; Lord Audley performed the office of state carver; Lord Scrope of Upsal that of cupbearer; Lord Lovel, during the entertainment, stood before the king, 'two esquires lying under the board at the king's feet.' On each side of the queen stood a countess with a napkin for her use. Over the head of each was held a canopy supported by peers and peeresses. The guests consisted of the Cardinal Archbishop, the Lord Chancellor, the prelates, the judges and nobles of the land, and the Lord Mayor and principal citizens of London. The ladies sat by themselves on the side of a long table in the middle of the Hall. As soon as the second course was put on the table the King's Champion, Sir Robert Dymoke, rode into the

hall ; ' his horse being trapped with silk and red, and himself in white harness ; the heralds of arms standing upon a stage among all the company. Then the king's Champion rode up before the king, asking, before all the people, if there was any man would say against King Richard III. why he should not pretend to the 'crown. And when he had so said, all the hall cried 'King Richard,' all with one voice. And when this was done, anon one of the lords brought unto the Champion a covered cup full of red wine, and so he took the cup and uncovered it, and drank thereof. And when he had done, anon he cast out the wine, and covered the cup again ; and making his obeisance to the king, turned his horse about and rode through the hall, with his cup in his right hand and that he had for his labour.' 'Then Garter king-at-Arms, supported by eighteen other heralds, advanced before the king and solemnly proclaimed his style and titles. No single untoward accident seems to have marred the harmony or splendour of the day. When at length it began to close, the hall was illuminated by a 'great light of wax torches and torchets' — apparently the signal for the king and queen to retire. Accordingly, wafers and hippocras having been previously served, Richard and his consort rose up, and departed to their private apartments in the Palace."

The Lord Mayor, according to ancient usage, served the king and queen with wine at the banquet, as assistant to the Chief Butler of England. "And the same mayor, after dinner ended, offered to the said lord the king wine in a gold cup, with a golden vial full of water to temper the wine. And after the wine was taken by the lord king, the mayor retained the said cup and vial of gold to his own proper use. In like manner the mayor offered to the queen, after the feast ended, wine in a golden cup, with a gold vial full of water. And after wine taken by the said queen, she gave the cup with the vial to the mayor, according to the privileges, liberties, and customs of the city of London, in such case of use." *

In curious contrast to these gay scenes is the circumstance that Richard was so uncertain of his position that he deemed it expedient to provide himself with a body of troops in case of an emergency arising. He procured a thousand men from the northern counties, who came under the leadership of Robin of Risdale. "They came up both evill apparelled and worse harnessed, in rusty armour, neither defencible for prooffe, nor scoured for shew; who mustering in Finsbury Fields, were with disdain gazed upon by the beholders." They were sent back soon after the

* Jesse, *Memoirs of Richard III.*

coronation with a reward in money. The fear Richard had of a rising against him is also shown by the fact that an edict was issued forbidding any stranger to be given a lodging anywhere in the city or the suburbs without the knowledge of the authorities.

The coronation of Henry VII. was apparently not a very great ceremonial. The historians of the time say very little about it, and speak of his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., as having been celebrated with much greater pomp. He was received in London with every demonstration of joy. The peers met him at Shoreditch. But his entry disappointed the people, who complained that as he was in a closed carriage they could not see him; but possibly he deemed it more prudent not to expose his person on horseback. He went to St. Paul's Cathedral to return thanks after his victory at Bosworth, and deposited three standards there. One bore the image of St. George; on the second was a fiery dragon, beaten upon white and green sarsenet; while the emblem on the third was a dun cow painted on yellow tartene. Henry stayed at the Bishop's Palace for a few days, during which time plays, pastimes, and rejoicings of every description were the order of the day. At the coronation, Cardinal Bouchier, who had crowned Edward IV. and Richard III., again

officiated. The king "ordained a number of chosen Archers, being strong and hardie persons, to give daily attendance on his person, whom he named Yeomen of the Guard." * This was the beginning of this famous corps, and from his time down to the present day they have always been in attendance on the sovereign's person at all Court functions.

Henry VIII. came to the throne when he was eighteen years of age, and being a young and magnificent prince he spared no pains to make his coronation, which took place on Midsummer Day, as memorable as any that had preceded it. For the procession from the Tower the streets were hung with tapestry and cloth of arras ; part of the south of Cheapside was hung with cloth of gold, as was also Cornhill. The City Companies rode in order, beginning with "base and mean occupations, and so ascending to the worshipful crafters. Highest and lastly strode the maior with the aldermen." The king wore a coat of raised gold, with a placard shining with rubies, emeralds, great pearls and diamonds, and over it a heavy robe of crimson velvet furred with ermine. The queen, who was in a sumptuous litter borne by two white palfreys, was dressed in embroidered white satin ; her hair, "of very great length, beautiful and

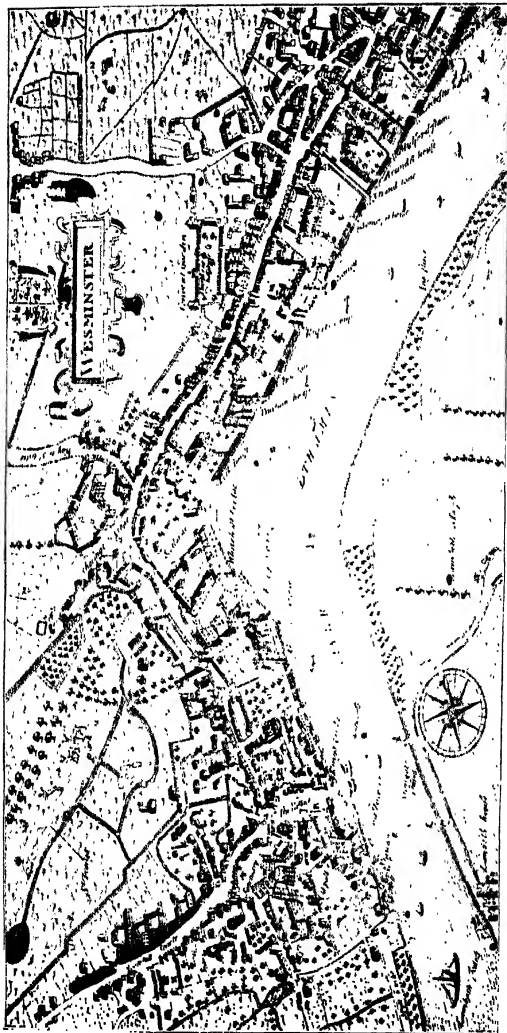
* Stowe.

goodly to behold," * hung down her back, and on her head she wore a small crown richly set with stones. After the coronation, jousts and tournaments were held at Westminster, which the king and queen beheld from a temporary platform in the Palace. This was the last occasion on which an Archbishop of Canterbury officiated with the sanction of the pope. Before Henry's son came to reign, many and great changes had occurred, and the supremacy of the pope in England was no longer admitted.

The coronation of the next sovereigns is chiefly interesting as showing the ebb and flow of the tide of the Reformation. "As new rites were introduced for the Protestant Edward, so were the old ones restored by the Catholic Mary, while again Elizabeth adopted neither course, but steered as it were between them." † Henry VIII. had wished to have his son's coronation performed during his lifetime, and preparations for it were in progress when he died. Edward VI. was only ten years old at the time. Within a month of his father's decease he was crowned, the ceremony being much curtailed owing to his tender age and delicate health. The procession through the City was as magnificent as usual. Various allegorical representations were arranged, and the boy-king is said to have been specially

* Hall.

† Knight, *London*.



PLAN OF WESTMINSTER IN QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN, when an uninterrupted view of Primrose Hill, Hampstead and Highgate, etc., might be had from the houses on the north side of the Strand. A standing gibbet is seen in this plan in New Palace Yard.

A. The Abbey.
B. Westminster Hall.
D. Long Ditch.
E. Thieving Lane.

F. The Aumerie.
G. The way to Tothill Fields.
H. The Lord Dacres.
K. King's Streete.

L. Round Woulstaple.
M. The Parke Lodgings.
N. The Tilt Yarl.
O. S. Martynes in the field.

P. Clements Inne.
Q. New Inne.
R. S. Clements Danes.
S. Temple barre.

delighted at the performance of an Aragonese sailor, who came from the battlements of old St. Paul's by a cable, swung between St. Paul's and the Dean's House, lying on his breast, "ayding himself neither with hand nor foot, but spreading them abroad, and after ascended to the midst of the cable, where he tumbled and played many pretty toyes, whereby the king and his nobles had great pastime." * The king was knighted by the Duke of Somerset, but no Knights of the Bath were created, for want of time to carry out the elaborate inauguration ceremonies. On the following day the ceremonies began at nine o'clock. The route of the procession from the Palace to the Abbey was covered with blue cloth. The interior of the Abbey was resplendent with rich hangings. The stage in the church was of unusual height; a flight of twenty-two steps led up to it, and it was hung with rich carpets and with cloth of gold. Upon it was placed the throne, which was seven steps higher still. The tombs of the kings were all covered with curtains of gold arras, and a gorgeous valance richly bedecked with gems was draped over the altar. Archbishop Cranmer, the king's godfather, officiated. A curious change took place in the ceremony of recognition. The people were not required, as had hitherto been the

* Stowe.

custom, to elect the king; but he was presented to them as the rightful and undoubted heir, and their assent was merely asked for the ceremonies of consecration, enunciation, and coronation. It was a subtle change introduced by the Tudors and emphasised strongly by the Stuarts. The king lay prostrate before the altar for his anointing, a canopy of red tinsel gold being held over him. Three crowns were used for crowning him, and for the first time the ceremony of the presentation of a Bible occurred in the ritual. The most striking part of the service was the address of Cranmer, which took the place of the sermon, and which is probably quite the boldest and most outspoken utterance ever delivered in the Abbey. In it Cranmer alluded in plain terms to the independent position of the English Church and the separation of it from that of Rome. He declared that kings were anointed and ordained by God, and endued by Him with special gifts for the good government of the people, and admonished the king as to the duties required of him. In laying special stress on the supremacy of the king over the Church, above the Bishop of Rome and the Bishops of Canterbury, he declared that "the wiser sort would look to their claws and clip them." Seated on the high throne, the king received the homage of the peers, who advanced in order, kneeled

down, "kissed his Grace's left cheek," and kissed the royal sandal ; this last ceremony was performed on this occasion only, no mention of it having been observed at any other time having come down to us. At the banquet in Westminster Hall, the king sat at a table with the Protector and the Archbishop of Canterbury. A number of knights were dubbed afterwards, to supply the omission of the usual creation of Knights of the Bath.

"The public rapture was so great at Mary's accession," says Taylor, "that the French ambassador, who did not very cordially wish it, nor fully see its reasonableness, could only ascribe it to an emotion from Heaven. That forty thousand men should spring up spontaneously in arms, at their own expense, in a week, to enthrone her, was such an unexpected ebullition of popular affection, that the learned versifier may be excused for his hyperbole, that she was a star descending for our veneration from the sky." Mary was thirty-six years of age at this time, and is described as being small and well-proportioned, fragile in appearance and moderately pretty, with lively eyes that inspired reverence, respect, and even fear, whenever she turned them. It is said that she was extravagantly fond of fine clothes, and this not only on her own account, but it was also her

fancy that her grey-headed old ladies should be gorgeously dressed, and that her lords, both elderly and young, should appear in glittering apparel of cloth of gold and embroidery. Consequently her progress through the City of London and the coronation ceremony on the following day were exceedingly brilliant. The jewels she wore on her head were so heavy that she was compelled to support her head in her hands. As she passed St. Paul's Cathedral, "Peter, a Dutchman, strode the weathercocke of Paule's steeple, holding a streamer in his hand of five yardes long, and waving thereof, stoode sometime on the one foote and shoke the other, and then kneeled on his knees to the great marvel of all people. He had made two scaffolds under him, one above the crosse, having torches and streamers set on it, and one other over the bole of the crosse, likewise set with streamers and torches, which could not burn, the winde was so great; the sayde Peter hadde sixteene pound, thirteene shillings and foure pence given him by the Cittie for his costs and paines, and all his stuffe." All the conduits ran wine, the standard and the cross in Cheapside were "new washed and furnished." * "Ludgate was newly repaired, painted, and richly hanged, as was also Temple Bar." "It was done royally," says one historian,

* Stowe.

“and such a multitude of people resorted out of all parties of the realme to see the same, that the like had not been seen tofore.”* But in spite of all this splendour Mary was not at her ease, so fearful was she lest the heresies of the last reign should bring misfortune on her rule. She refused to occupy the Chair of State, as it had been contaminated in her eyes at the last coronation, and so a special one, which had been blessed by the pope, was procured for her from abroad. The holy oil, she feared, must have lost its efficacy through the interdict, and the imperial ambassador obtained a fresh supply, which had been blessed by the Bishop of Arras. The service lasted from eleven in the morning until four in the afternoon. The royal residence was now at Whitehall, and the Queen and her attendants went by water, in the state barges, to Westminster Hall, where the procession to the Abbey was formed, returning in the same manner.

The joyful acclamations with which Mary was received fade into utter insignificance before the frenzy of delight which greeted the accession of Elizabeth. Mary's reign had been a long succession of persecutions, and had ended with a national disaster, and the whole period had been one of the deepest gloom. Now it was confidently believed those days of distress were

* Fabyan, quoted by Lingard.

over and that brighter times were at hand. Elizabeth selected January 15 for the day of her coronation, as her astrologer had pronounced it a day of good luck for her. The day before, she passed through the City on her way from the Tower to Whitehall amid scenes of indescribable enthusiasm. "And entering the citie was of the people received marveylous entirely, as appeared by the assemblie, prayers, wishes, welcomings, cryes, tender woordes and all other signes, which argue a wonderfull earnest love of most obedient subjects toward theyr sovereigne." * The very aldermen wept for joy as she passed, and despite the fact that it was midwinter, poor women threw nosegays into her lap. Never had such elaborate pageants been prepared, nor the city dressed out in such gay attire. The price of seats to view the procession rose from the groat, which had been paid at the last three coronations, to a tester or sixpence.

The coronation the next day, however, was overshadowed by the religious troubles which had distressed the country for so long. Elizabeth had a difficult task before her, and the disputes over the order of the coronation service were many and furious. The queen decided that mass should be performed, but that the Litany should be read in English, and the Gospel and

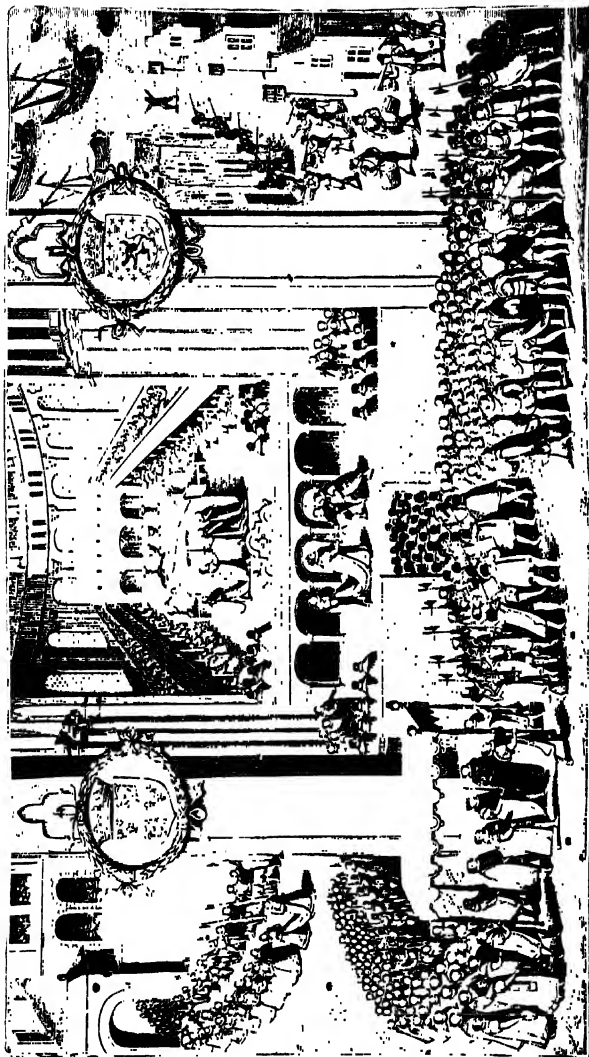
* Nichols, *Progresses*.

Epistle in Latin and English, and she forbade the elevation of the Host. At this the whole bench of bishops refused to attend. The see of Canterbury was vacant, the Archbishop of York objected to the Litany being sung in English, and the Bishop of London, who was the primate's proper representative, was in prison. So it was a question for some time who would perform the ceremony. Finally, Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, consented to do so, and borrowed the robes of the Bishop of London for the occasion. It is said that he subsequently bitterly repented, and that his action in officiating under these circumstances so preyed upon his mind that he died of remorse shortly afterwards. In spite of the absence of the prelates, the ceremony passed off very brilliantly. The queen was proclaimed by the style of "The most high and mightye Princesse dread Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Irelande, defender of the trewe ancient and Catholic faithe: most worthy Empresse from the Orcade Isles to the Mountaynes Pyrenei." Elizabeth professed great dislike of the anointing, and complained in disgust to her ladies that "the oil was grease and smelt ill." This was the last occasion on which an Abbot of Westminster took part in the service.

CHAPTER V.

CORONATIONS FROM 1604-1838

JAMES I. was crowned on July 25, 1604, the day of his namesake the Apostle, nearly a year after his accession. The plague was raging in London and the suburbs at the time—nine hundred people died of it during the week of the coronation—and consequently the royal procession from the Tower through the City was abandoned. Westminster was very closely built over then, and the streets were so narrow that people could shake hands out of the windows with their opposite neighbours; so it is not surprising that the plague had taken root in the place. The Lord Mayor, Sir Robert Lee, and twelve principal citizens were admitted to attend the ceremony, but all other citizens were stopped from passing by either land or water for fear of carrying the infection. "Indeed," says Oldmixon, "some thought it an improper Season to celebrate so glorious a Festival, and that it wou'd have been more decent, if not more



CORONATION OF JAMES I.

From a Dutch Print dated 1603. Arranged to exhibit the successive Stages of the Ceremony.

religious, to have put off the Rejoicings for the Coronation, till there had not been so many Mourners in the Streets, and so many Doors shut up by the Desolation of the Pestilence. However, the Charge of the Ceremony amounted to thirty-seven thousand Pounds." The king and queen went straight from Whitehall to the Abbey, Anne "with her seemly hair down-hanging on her princely shoulders, and, on her head a crownlet of gold."* There had not been a coronation of a king and queen together since that of Henry VIII. and Katherine of Aragon. There was no longer any dispute about the order of the service; in the long interval which had elapsed since the last coronation of a sovereign, most of the religious difficulties had been settled. All the bishops were present; Archbishop Whitgift crowned the king, and the service was that of the Anglican Reformed Church. The queen refused to take the Sacrament, pleading that she had changed her religion once already from the Lutheran to the Presbyterian forms of Scotland, and that that was enough. When the king was crowned in St. Edward's chair, on the Stone of Scone, it seemed as if the day had at last dawned for the fulfilment of the ancient prophecy concerning it: "If fates go right where're this Stone is pight, the Scot shall finde and there his

* Strickland.

Raigne assign'd."* The weather was unpropitious, the day being wild and stormy, but as no crowd was allowed to collect, it did not matter much. Three hundred knights were dubbed in the gardens of Whitehall on July 23; not however as a mark of royal favour: they were commanded by summons either to come and receive the honour or to compound with the commissioners. Sixty Knights of the Bath were created the day before the coronation, who "rode honourably from St. James to the Courte and made shew with their squires and pages about the tilt-yarde, and went into the Parke of St. James, and there lighted from their horses, and went uppe to the King's Majestie's presence in the gallery, where they received the order of Knighthood of the Bathe."† But all these festivities were conducted practically in private, as the people were not allowed to come together to behold them, and the fair which was always held in Tothill Fields at the time of a coronation was forbidden by royal proclamation.

The coronation of Charles I. is memorable as being the last occasion on which the ancient regalia of England were used. Not even the associations connected with St. Edward's crown, which was also the crown of King Alfred, could preserve it from the Philistines of the Common-

* Speed.

† Nichols, *Progresses*.

wealth, the fact that it had figured at every coronation of a king of England for the space of seven centuries only rendered it more obnoxious in their eyes. In their blind, zeal they were unable to discover any excellence in the regalia beyond the market-value of the precious metal of which they were composed and of the gems adorning them, and by order of the council they were melted down and sold, in 1649. At his accession Charles was obliged to practise the most humiliating economy, and the coronation appeared rather in the light of a private than of a public function. There was no procession from the Tower, ostensibly on account of the plague, but the real reason was, we are told, because it would have cost £60,000, and as the king wanted to carry on the Spanish War without asking Parliament for more supplies, he grudged the expense. The queen refused to be crowned on account of her religion, for she was a Roman Catholic. She was not even present in the Abbey, and declined an offer to have a place fitted up for her where she could see the ceremony. She repaired to the King's Gatehouse, which stood where Downing Street now is, and watched the procession, going and returning, from one of the windows, her ladies "frisking and dancing about the room."* Years afterwards, when the king met

* Strickland.

his unhappy fate, people remembered the circumstances of this coronation, and pointed to many incidents as having presaged evil times. A few days before the day fixed for his inauguration "His Majesty sent to survey and peruse the regalia, or royal ornaments, which then were to be used. It happened that the left wing of the dove on the sceptre was quite broken off, by what casualty God Himself knows. The king sent for Mr. Acton, then his goldsmith, commanding him that the very same should be set on again. The goldsmith replied that it was impossible to be done so fairly, but that some mark would remain thereof. To whom the king in some passion returned, 'If you will not do it, another shall.' Hereupon Mr. Acton carried it home, and got another dove of gold to be artificially set on; whereat, when brought back, His Majesty was well contented, as making no discovery thereof." * The royal party went by water from Whitehall to the old Palace, but the royal barge fouled the landing-place, which had been prepared for it, and which was richly hung with carpets and tapestries, and the disembarkation took place at the Parliament Stairs. Then Charles was arrayed in white satin instead of the crimson velvet other sovereigns had worn at their coronation, and although we

* Fuller, *Church History*.

are expressly told that he appeared "a proper person to all that beheld him," it was commented on, and he was likened unto a victim going to a sacrifice. The text of the sermon was, "And I will give unto thee a crown of life," which, it was said, would have been more appropriate for a funeral than for the present occasion. When the king was come to the high scaffold in the centre of the church he was presented to the people by the archbishop with these words, "My masters and friends: I am here come to present unto you your king, King Charles, to whome the crowne of his ancestors and predecessors is now devolved by lineal right, and hee himselfe came hither to bee settled in that throne, which God and his birth have appointed for him; and therefore I desire you by your general acclamations to testifie your content and willingness thereunto." Instead of a thunder of consent a dead pause ensued. Not one word of acclamation followed, and for a few seconds a terrible stillness reigned throughout the church. Some thought the archbishop had only paused in his speech and that he was about to say something more; others declared afterwards that they had not heard what he said. Then it appears "my Lorde of Arundel tolde them they should crie out 'God save King Charles!' upon which, as

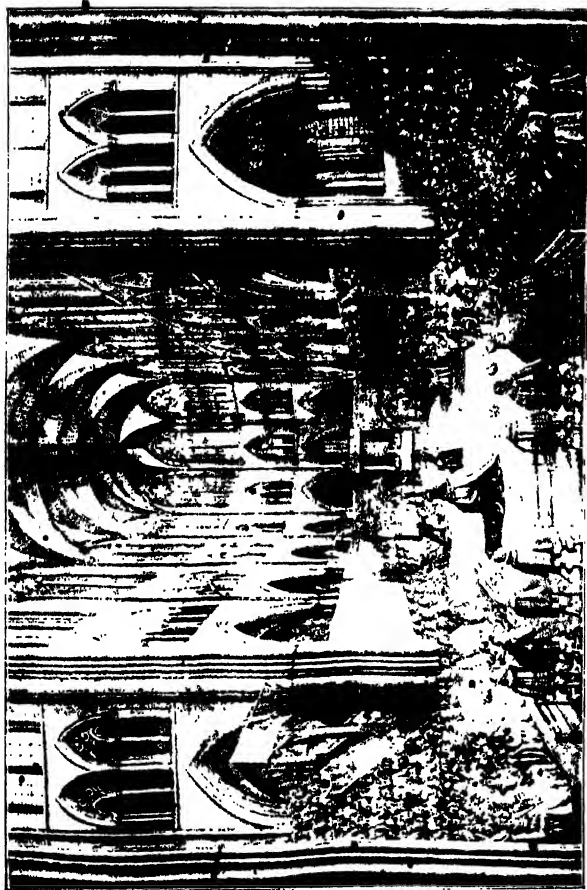
ashamed of their first oversight, a little cheering followed."* Baxter, who was a schoolboy at the time, remarks that an earthquake happened at two o'clock in the afternoon, which "did affright the neighbourhood."

The coronation of Charles II. was arranged with the greatest care, no pains being spared to observe all previous precedences, and to conform to ancient usages, in order to obliterate as far as possible all evidences of the Rebellion. A new regalia had to be prepared, but the old names were retained and as far as possible the original patterns were copied. The ceremony took place on St. George's Day, 1661. The king embarked in his barge at Whitehall Stairs at seven o'clock in the morning and went to the Palace, but the procession took so long to marshal that it was ten before it started for the church. The route taken was from Westminster Hall through Palace Yard to the Gatehouse, and down King Street round the Abbey churchyard to the west entrance, and so into the choir. "A great pleasure it was," said Pepys, "to see the Abbey raised in the middle, all covered with red, and a throne (that is a chaire) and footstool on top of it, and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fiddlers, in red vests." The archbishop was present, but was too ill to

* D. Ewes, *Autobiography and Correspondence*.

take much part in the service, and the Bishop of London acted as his deputy, the archbishop only anointing and crowning the king. Charles was unmarried, and as there was no queen, no peeresses were present, which deprived the ceremony of a good deal of its customary splendour. The banquet was a very stately function. The king came into the Hall after everybody was seated, wearing his royal robes, with a crown on his head and carrying the sceptre in his hand: the three swords were borne before him. After the Bishop of London had said grace, the first course was carried in with great state, the Earl Marshal, the Lord High Steward, and the Lord High Constable escorting the service on horseback, all in their robes, with crowns on their heads, and mounted on chargers magnificently caparisoned. The Earl of Lincoln was carver. Just before the second course Sir Edward Dymoke, the Champion, entered on a white charger, escorted by heralds, trumpeters, serjeants-at-arms and squires, and proclaimed his challenge. "If any person of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny, or gainsay our Sovereign Lord, King Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, son and next heir to our Sovereign Lord, Charles the First, the last King deceased, to be right heir to the Imperial Crown of the Realm of England, or

that he ought not to enjoy the same, here is his champion, who says that he lieth and is a false traitor, being ready in person to combat with him, and in this quarrel will adventure his life against him on what day soever he shall be appointed." He then flung down his gauntlet, which lay on the ground for some time, after which it was returned to him by a herald. He advanced towards the dais, while the Earl of Pembroke on bended knee presented a gold cup full of wine to the king, who drank to the Champion and then sent the cup to him by the earl as a reward for his services. The Barons of the Cinque Ports did not occupy their usual place at the upper end of the first table, owing to a violent quarrel which occurred between some of them and the king's footmen, who attempted to appropriate the canopy carried by the barons over the king in the procession, and which was their perquisite. So great was the disturbance that the king sent an equerry to order the footmen to be placed under a guard, and they were eventually imprisoned and dismissed his service. The weather had been good during the procession from the Tower the previous day and during the ceremony in the Abbey, but while the banquet was in progress there was a terrific thunderstorm. "It fell araining and thundering, and lightening as I have not seen it do for



CORONATION OF CHARLES II.

some years," says Pepys, "which people did take much notice of." "As the king was at dinner at Westminster Hall it thundered and lightened exceedingly," says Aubrey, "the cannons and the thunder played together." After this reign, the royal processions from the Tower to Westminster on the day preceding the coronation were discontinued, nor have there been any creations of the Knights of the Bath at any coronation since.

James II. also selected St. George's Day for his inauguration. He objected to the procession through the City on the score of expense, having ascertained that it would have cost about half as much as he proposed to spend on the gems to be worn by his consort on the occasion; so it did not take place. As regards the actual ceremony, he found himself in rather a difficult position in consequence of his religious views, for he had scruples about taking the coronation oath, which would bind him to preserve the Anglican Church. In his dilemma he determined to apply to the pope for advice, and a lucky quibble was discovered of which he gladly availed himself. The Communion Service was omitted altogether. A full account of the ceremony, with many illustrations, has been preserved. The procession was very magnificent, and was headed by the hereditary Herbwomen and six

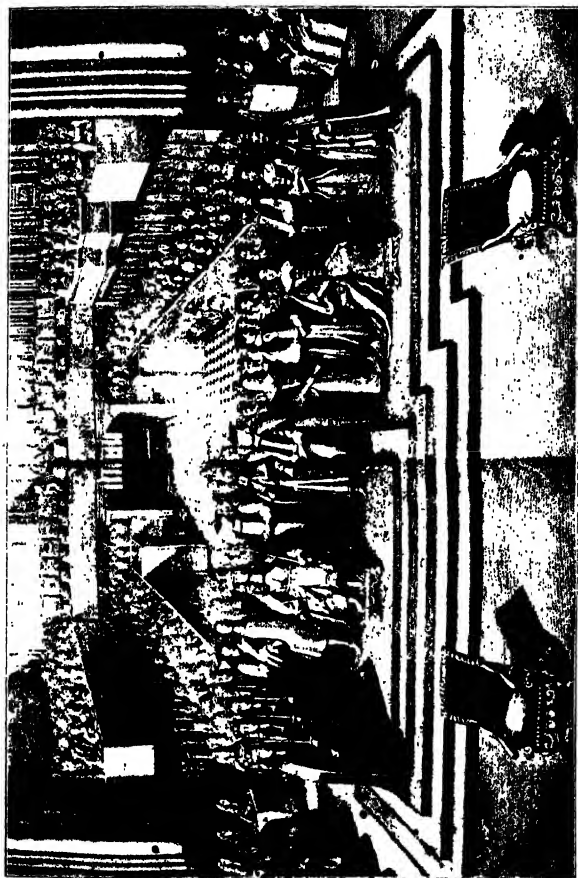
young ladies, who carried baskets containing flowers, which they strewed in the path. The route taken was from Westminster Hall to King Street by way of the Gatehouse, and thence to the west door of the Abbey, a distance of twelve hundred yards. The queen was very richly dressed. A contemporary writer says that her jewels were valued at a million sterling, and that they made her shine like an angel. It is believed that her crown did cost actually £110,000, and her kirtle, which was of rich white and silver brocade, was ornamented with pearls and precious stones, and her stomacher was heavy with jewels; but it is not likely that a million was expended on her dress. James was very anxious that the ceremony should be as imposing as possible, and so anxious was he that a faithful account of it should go down to posterity, that he commissioned the Lancaster Herald to write a full description of it, and to have plates engraved of the procession. Two relics of this coronation have come down to us: the coronation music of Purcell and Blow, and the rich tapestry with which the chancel was hung. The latter is still preserved in Westminster School and in the Jerusalem Chamber. It was the first coronation, too, at which the Westminster scholars were present. The king expended all

his energy on devising an elaborate dress for the queen, and paid but little attention to his own. He wore the same crown that had served for Charles II. It was too large for him, and came too far down on his face, and it looked all the time as if it were falling off. Henry Sidney, Keeper of the Robes, held it up, saying the while, "This is not the first time, your Majesty, that my family has supported the crown." This circumstance was noticed by many people, and was considered an augury of evil by some. The queen was much disturbed by it, and frequently used to refer to it. "There was one presage," she said once, "that struck us, and that every one observed. They could not make the crown keep firm on the king's head: it appeared always on the point of falling, and it required some care to hold it steady."* She wore the ring she received at her investiture until the day of her death. It was set with a fine ruby and sixteen smaller ones round the hoop. Nothing could ever persuade her to part with it. In the unhappy days of her exile she often spoke of this great day, and would dwell lovingly on the costly regalia prepared for her and the valuable jewels she wore on that occasion. "My dress and royal mantle," she would say, "were covered with precious stones, and it took all the jewels

* Strickland.

that all the goldsmiths of London could procure to decorate my crown; of all these, nothing was lost except one small diamond worth about forty shillings"; and she told the nuns of Chaillot "that no coronation of any preceding king of England had been so well conducted, and that all the arrangements had been made under the personal superintendence of King James, who ordered a book to be made of it."* On the return of the procession to Westminster Hall, the canopy borne over the king by the barons of the Cinque Ports tore across. "'Twas of cloth of gold," says Aubrey, "and my strength could not, I am confident, have rent it, and it was not a windy day." The superstitious averred that just as the signal that the king was crowned was given to the Tower, the flag flying at the mast tore in half, and they declared that it portended some evil. The banquet was as sumptuous as usual. No less than twelve hundred and forty-five dishes were served up. Before the second course the Champion came in magnificently attired, and having proclaimed his challenge, got down off his horse, and advanced to the king, to kiss his hand. On his way he fell down "all his length in the Hall, when there was nothing in his way that could visibly cause the same; whereupon the Queen sayde, 'See you, love,

* Strickland.



CORONATION OF JAMES II. AND MARY OF MODENA.

what a weak Champion you have.' To which the king sayde nothing, but laught, and the Champion excused himself, pretending his armour was heavy, and that he himself was weak with sickness, which was false, for he was very well, and had had none." *

William III. and Queen Mary selected April 11 for the day of their installation, which was an unusual proceeding on their part, as it was neither a Sunday nor a feast day. The procession was timed to start at eleven o'clock from Westminster Hall, but just as the king and queen were completing their toilet at the Palace, the alarming news was brought to them that James II. had effected a landing in Ireland and that practically the whole island had submitted to him. At the same moment a letter was delivered to the queen from her father. It was the first he had written to her since her accession, and it contained many bitter reproaches, which, however, she read unmoved. But William was considerably perturbed by its contents and commenced a defence of the course he had pursued, and further said to the queen that he had done nothing but by her advice and with her approbation. Mary is said to have replied that if her father should regain his position, her husband might thank himself for

* Pryme, *Ephemeris Vitae*.

letting him go as he did. The bad news was brought to the Princess Anne while she, too, was dressing for the coronation. Her ladies, we are told, who had previously been mocking and jeering at the misfortunes of the ex-king and his infant son, were now silent, and meditated how they should make their peace if King James were restored. It was two hours before the king had sufficiently recovered his composure to set out for the ceremony. He left the Palace nearly an hour before the queen, and went to Westminster in his barge from Whitehall. The queen went direct to the Hall in her chair. The procession started at half-past one, and although very elaborate preparations had been made, and the scene from a spectacular point of view was very fine indeed, the news of the landing of James caused many misgivings, and the chief actors in it must have felt strangely out of touch with their splendid surroundings. "The short king and the tall queen walked side by side as joint sovereigns, with the sword carried between them." * A new throne was prepared for Mary, into which she was lifted like her husband; she was girt with the sword and invested with the symbols of sovereignty. The coronation oath was changed to its present form, and the king and queen both swore to maintain the

* Stanley.

“Protestant religion as established by law,” which brought it into conformity with the actual usages of the kingdom. The Archbishop of Canterbury refused to be present, and the Archbishop of York took his place. At the offertory it was found that the king’s money had been stolen from his side and that he had nothing to give. A long pause ensued, for the queen had no money either, so Lord Danby, who stood near, came to the rescue and placed twenty guineas in the plate on their behalf. For the first time a large gallery was erected over St. Edward’s Chapel for the accommodation of the Commons. Only five bishops were present and many of the nobility were absent, but there was a large attendance of the representatives of the realm. Enormous crowds assembled to see the procession pass to and from the Abbey, and as much as a crown was paid for a seat, which was double the sum paid at the two last coronations. No less than twelve medals were struck in honour of the day—some for throwing amongst the people, and others to be given to those who assisted at the ceremony. •

Ten days after the funeral of William III. the coronation of Queen Anne took place, it being her especial desire that it might be performed on St. George’s Day. Anne was only thirty-seven years of age, but she was

such a martyr to gout that she was very infirm and quite unable to walk or take any exercise. One of the journals of the time contains the following announcement:—“The queen took the¹ divertisement of hunting on Wednesday, April 11, about Windsor, and returned on Thursday to her royal Palace at St. James. This hunting was performed in her high-wheeled chaise.”* On the day of the coronation her Majesty went privately to Westminster Hall in her sedan chair, and waited in the court of wards until the procession was marshalled into order. Being unable to walk, she was carried to the Abbey in a low arm-chair, but she had, notwithstanding, a long train, which was carried by the Duchess of Somerset, Lady Elizabeth Seymour, Lady Mary Hyde, and Lady Mary Pierrepont. The last named, who was only thirteen at the time, was famous afterwards as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. So infirm was the queen that she required support when she stood for the recognition, and it was with great difficulty that she managed to reach the altar for the offertory and for the Communion Service. This is the only instance which has ever occurred of an infirm person being crowned sovereign of Great Britain. The queen’s husband, Prince George of Denmark,

* Strickland.

was absolutely excluded from taking part in the coronation ceremony: there was no provision made for him at all, and he only came into notice when, the crowning and investiture being over, he advanced with the Archbishop of Canterbury at the head of the peers to do homage. This exclusion of the queen's consort from all share in the ceremony caused a good deal of adverse criticism in many quarters. The prince sat at the queen's table during the banquet, however. The Commons were entertained at dinner in the Exchequer Chamber. Shortly after eight o'clock the queen returned to St. James's Palace, the day concluding with bonfires, illuminations, ringing of bells, and other demonstrations of rejoicing.

As George I. was a foreigner who could not speak the English language and who was a total stranger to the nation, his coronation must have been divested of a good deal of the interest which generally accrues to such ceremonies, but it was very well attended nevertheless, there being more prelates and members of the nobility present than at any time since the Conquest. Very few of the prelates or of the high officers of state could speak German, and as the king did not know any English, the points of the ritual had to be explained to him in Latin, which gave rise to many

jokes about the quantity of bad language which passed between the king and his Ministers. All the Jacobite nobility were present, "looking as well as they could, but very peevish with everybody that spoke to them." * When the archbishop went round the throne demanding the consent of the people, Lady Dorchester is said to have remarked to her neighbour, "Does the old fool think that anybody here will say 'No!' to his question when there are so many drawn swords about?" The king was crowned King of France as well as of Great Britain and Ireland. The banquet passed off as usual, but when the weary waiting-men, having taken their refreshment, came to clear away the remains of the banquet, they found that everything had been carried off—plate, knives, forks, viands, and table-cloths—all had disappeared. There was a great outcry: the thieves were commanded by proclamation to make restitution under pain of heavy penalties, but the property was not recovered. The coronation favours with the Union Arms and the motto, "King George our Defender, From Pope and Pretender," were greatly in demand, and the shop in the New Exchange, Strand, where it might be procured, was beset by ladies or their servants intent on purchasing them. The day

* Lady Cowper.

did not pass off without small Jacobite demonstrations, and the king could not help hearing one or two hostile remarks as he passed in the procession to and from the Abbey; attempts at rioting were made in many places.

George II. was no stranger to the people as his father had been. At the accession of George I. the prince knew more English than his father, and his pleasant manners made him so popular that the king is said to have been jealous of him. "I have not one drop of blood in my veins which is not English and at the service of my father's subjects," said George II. on one occasion, and he seems to have been genuinely anxious to govern in a constitutional spirit and according to the measure of his ability and knowledge. When the details for his coronation came to be arranged, he delighted in the splendid details as much as his father had been bored by them. October 4 was the day first selected, but then it was postponed for a week.

The queen went in her sedan chair privately to Westminster with a maid of honour and the Lord Chancellor in attendance in hack chairs, and they returned in the same unroyal way. "The dress of the queen was as fine as the accumulated riches of the City and suburbs could make it, for besides her own jewels (which were a great number and very valuable) she had

on her head and on her shoulders all the pearls she could borrow of the ladies of quality at one end of the town, and on her petticoat all the diamonds she could hire of the Jews and jewellers at the other; so that the appearance and the truth of her finery was a mixture of meanness and magnificence." * It appears that this was necessitated by the fact that none of Queen Anne's jewels had been kept for the Crown but one solitary necklace. The rest had been dispersed at the moment of her death, or had been given away by George I. to his German favourites. The king, we read, was small of stature and had fair hair, which heightened the weakness of his expression, but that he was on this occasion every inch a king. The ceremony was as brilliant as usual. Handel's anthems, "Let thy Hand be strengthened," "Zadoc the Priest," "The King shall Rejoice," and "My Heart is Inditing," were composed for it. Only one small hitch occurred. The dean and prebendaries of Westminster brought the Bible for presentation and the regalia, but forgot the chalice and paten. Westminster Hall was most brilliantly illuminated for the banquet. There were sixty gilded hanging branches, which contained altogether four thousand white wax tapers. The Hall was in darkness until the

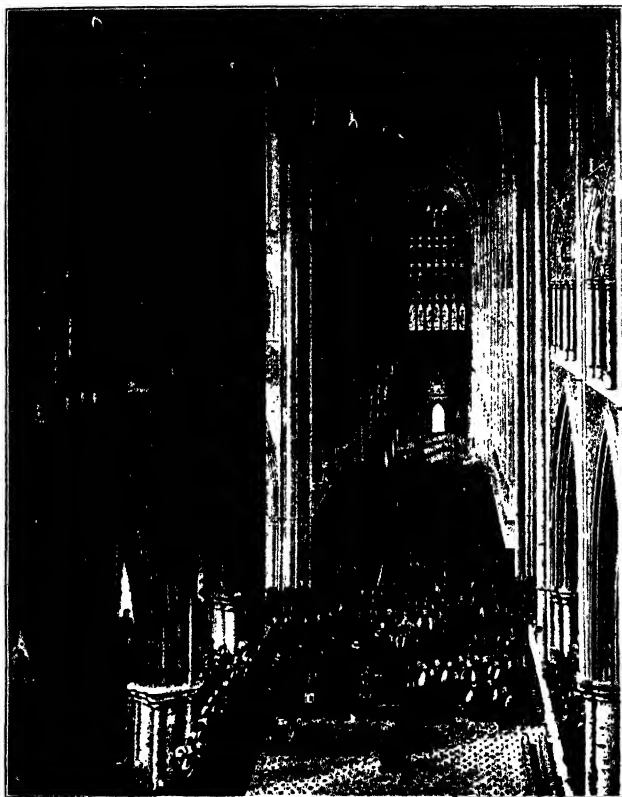
* Hervey.

queen's canopy entered the door, and then in an extraordinary manner they were all lighted in about a minute's time. There was no interruption either during the service in the Abbey or while the banquet was in progress, as some timid people had feared might be the case. "The popular joy at the event was signified," says Doran, "by all London being drunk in the evening, or nearly so."

During the lifetime of George II. the people had entertained only a small opinion of their future king, whose education had been notoriously defective, and of whom his grandfather, the king, was said to have remarked that "he was good for nothing but to read his Bible." On his accession, however, George III. displayed so many unexpected qualities, and acquitted himself so well, that loyalty to the new king became quite the rage, and to be disloyal was to be out of fashion. For his coronation, which took place a fortnight after his marriage, extraordinary preparations were made. Never had such high prices been paid for windows to view the procession. The front seats in the galleries of Westminster Abbey were to let at ten guineas each, and those in houses along the route of the procession cost the same price. The terms for a seat in small houses were from one guinea to five; so that a small house in Coronation

Row, after the scaffolding was paid for, cleared £700, and some large houses £1000. These were very large sums of money for the times. Several temporary erections, called coronation theatres, were put up for the day, in which accommodation was provided for twelve or fifteen hundred seats, very high prices being asked. One London gentleman writing to a friend in the country mentions "having had a fine view of the procession out of doors, from a one pair of stairs room, which your neighbour, Sir Edward, had hired at the small price of one hundred guineas." * There was at one time a fear lest the ceremonial should have to be postponed on account of a strike among the workmen at Westminster Hall, but the danger was happily averted. At the last moment, the procession was delayed because it was found that the sword of state had been forgotten, and that no state chairs and no canopy had been provided for the king and queen at the banquet. The ceremonial sword of the Lord Mayor was borrowed hastily and a canopy improvised. The king inquired the cause of the delay, and was somewhat annoyed at it, and complained to the Earl of Effingham, the deputy Earl Marshal. "It is true, sir," was the reply, "that there has been some neglect; but I have taken care

* Jones, *Crowns and Coronations*.



CORONATION OF GEORGE III. : THE PEERS DOING HOMAGE.

that the next coronation shall be regulated in the exactest manner possible." The king was not at all offended at this awkward remark; on the contrary he was greatly amused, and insisted on the earl repeating the remark several times, to his extreme discomfiture.

Archbishop Secker performed the coronation. He had baptized the king as an infant, confirmed him when Prince of Wales, and had also officiated at his marriage a fortnight earlier. During the Communion Service the king inquired of the archbishop whether he should not lay aside his crown while receiving the Sacrament. The primate replied that there was no precedent of the case. The king took off the crown, saying "there should be one." The queen wished to remove hers also, but it was fastened on to her hair to keep it from falling off, and the king quieted her scruples by observing that it might be considered as part of her dress, and not indicating any power or greatness in a person humbly kneeling in the presence of God. The king's crown weighed three pounds and a half, and during the return of the procession to the Hall a large diamond fell out of it, but it was immediately found and restored to him. It was so late before the king left the Abbey that the spectators had only a very dim and gloomy view of the procession, which caused the greatest

disappointment to people who had paid high prices for their seats and who had waited patiently for hours to see it. Westminster Hall was illumined by three thousand candles, which were lighted by trains of prepared flax that reached from one chandelier to the other. The illumination was not commenced until the arrival of the king and queen, and as only the plumes of the Knights of the Bath were visible in the darkening twilight, it looked very much like a funeral, says Walpole. The trains of flax being once ignited, the illumination was accomplished in less than half a minute. For several seconds it rained fire upon the heads of the spectators, the flax falling in large flakes. The queen and all her ladies were terrified beyond description, and it is fortunate that no disaster occurred, but by a miracle no one was injured. "This sudden illumination was the most magnificent spectacle I ever beheld," says Gray. The people in the galleries were hungry after their long fasting, and some of them let down baskets by cords to their friends below, who filled them with viands for them, after which they were drawn up again. Some of the ladies tied their handkerchiefs together and lowered them, and received them back with a chicken or a bottle of wine fastened on to them. No table was provided for the Knights of the Bath,

nor had it been intended to include the representatives of the City of London at the banquet, but they protested that, as they would spend ten thousand pounds on a dinner to the king, it was hard they should be excluded, and that the authorities should have reason to repent it if they were. The authorities reconsidered the matter, and they were invited to be present. Lord Talbot, who accompanied the Champion, had been at great pains to train his horse to retire backwards, so that he should face the king both on entering and retiring, but by some mischance it entered backwards, to the great amusement of all present. It is said that as the Champion threw down his gauntlet a white glove fluttered down from one of the highest galleries, which was believed by many to be a Jacobite acceptance of the challenge. Another version of the story is, that in the excitement of the moment public attention was withdrawn from the gauntlet as it lay on the ground, and that when the time arrived for it to be taken up and returned to the Champion, it was nowhere to be found. There is but little doubt that the young Pretender himself was present on this occasion. "Your Royal Highness is the last of all mortals whom I should expect to see here," whispered some one who knew him, in his ear. "It was curiosity that

led me," he replied; "but I can assure you," he added, "that the person who is the cause of all this pomp and magnificence is the man I envy least."

This coronation is the last at which the King of England was, also proclaimed King of France, and in consequence it was the last time that the Dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy were represented to give colour to the claim. At Queen Anne's coronation they were represented by two persons whose names were respectively Jonathan Andrews and James Clarke, and at that of George I. they were personated by two strolling players. They were assigned a conspicuous place in the Abbey; velvet mantles trimmed with miniver and powdered with ermine were provided for them; they carried caps of cloth of gold, and when, on the king being crowned, the peers put on their coronets, they placed them upon their heads and wore them as jauntily as anybody. They also approached with the peers and did homage to the sovereign for their pretended dominions. After this coronation the ridiculous precedent was allowed to lapse.

"George IV.'s coronation was conducted with unexampled splendour, but, despite all the show and glitter, there was a conspicuous lack of the enthusiasm and good-will shown by the nation

at the inauguration of George III., as the new king was not as popular with his subjects as he could have wished. But as a pageant it was unusually brilliant, and gave very great satisfaction to the nation. The king was so anxious that everything should be well done that he superintended many of the arrangements in person. The dresses of some of the chief officials who figured in the procession were settled under his immediate direction. He gloried in tailors, one biographer says, and his deliberations were frequent and anxious, and when at length his own gorgeous attire was complete, he caused one of his attendants, a tall, fine-looking fellow, to put it on and walk to and fro in his presence that he might judge of the effect.

The number of the general public desirous of seeing the procession was greater than ever. Many of the houses from which a view could be obtained had their fronts and side walls taken out, and the roofs supported by substantial props, the whole of the rooms being appropriated for the reception of the company. From fifteen to twenty guineas were paid for seats overlooking Palace Yard. Provision merchants, eager to turn the occasion to good account, brought waggon-loads of provisions of all kinds to Westminster, where they were stored up for sale on the

auspicious day, or were retailed to the enormous concourse of sightseers, who for three or four days before the ceremony blocked the streets in the immediate vicinity of the Abbey. The day before the coronation, which was fixed for July 19, 1821, a rehearsal of the ceremonies took place; every person who had a part to perform was provided with a printed form of his duties, and went through them in precisely the same manner as the succeeding day. At about half-past eight o'clock the king arrived at the Speaker's house, where he had arranged to pass the night—a room overlooking the Thames having been prepared for him. Even then the crowd was reported as being beyond all calculation. This was partly accounted for by the fact having become known that the queen had determined to try to force her way into the Abbey—the king having refused to allow her to be crowned; and many of her partisans were present to make a demonstration in her favour if an opportunity should present itself. Hundreds of well-dressed people were seen battling with the crowd in their endeavour to get to the rooms which they had engaged for the occasion. As early as one o'clock on the morning of July 19, persons holding tickets for the Abbey or the Hall began to arrive, and as the grey mist of the dawn gradually cleared away, the streets were as

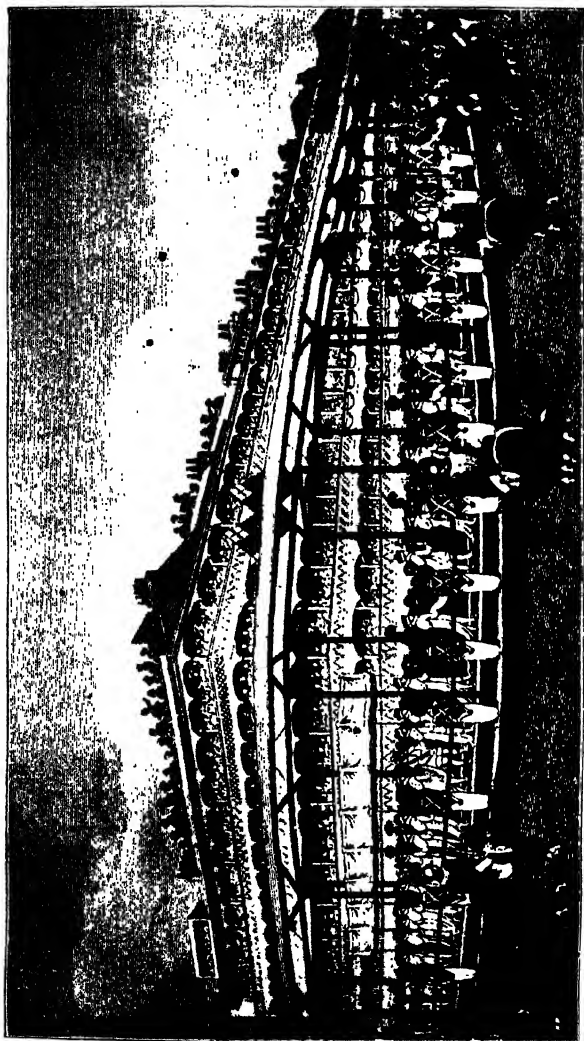
busy and the congestion of traffic as great as at noon the previous day. At about six o'clock the queen arrived at the Abbey and demanded admittance, which was refused her, Sir Robert Inglis, the door-keeper, informing Her Majesty that no place had been reserved for her. She drove away sorrowfully to her house in South Audley Street without any demonstration being made in her favour by the mob. A few weeks later occurred her death.

The royal procession started at half-past nine from Westminster Hall on its way to the Abbey. The ceremony was extremely long and fatiguing, and it was nearly four o'clock before the king was back in Westminster Hall. It was very hot weather too, and the somewhat portly prince was glad "during one interval of the service to go and cool himself, stripped of all his robes in the Confessor's Chapel, and at another time he was only revived by some smelling-salts, which the archbishop's secretary had accidentally provided. During the long ceremony of the homage, which he received with visible expressions of disgust or satisfaction, as the peers of the contending parties came up, he was perpetually wiping his streaming face with innumerable handkerchiefs, which he handed in rapid succession to the primate, who stood beside him." *• The return

¹ Stanley.

procession was not nearly as dignified as the first had been, which was possibly owing to the great fatigue occasioned by the long ceremony and the consequent desire of people to get to their seats. On arriving inside the Hall, the aldermen, who apparently did not understand their instructions, left the ranks of the procession and walked over to their places at one of the tables, leaving many behind who should have preceded them. One of the heralds was obliged to go and bring them back, and many jokes were made at their expense as being in rather too great a hurry to begin their dinner.

The heat during the banquet was intense, for accommodation had been provided for some thousands of people either at the tables or in the galleries. "The very great heat was nowhere more visible than in the havoc which it made upon the curls of many of the ladies," says Huist, "several of whose heads had lost all traces of the friseur's skill long before the ceremony of the day had concluded." The wax candles, too, melted, and great drops fell "without distinctions of persons" upon all within reach. The superb dresses of many of the peers and peeresses were spoiled by it, and escape was impossible, "for the wretched tenants of a slave ship were never more closely packed together," says Huist again. "If a lovely female," he adds, "dared to raise her



CORONATION PROCESSION OF GEORGE IV.

look to discover from what quarter the unwelcome visitation came, she was certain of receiving an additional patch upon her cheeks, which in order to disencumber herself of, obliged her to wipe away also the roseate hue which had been imparted to her countenance at her toilette, thereby obliging her to wear a double face, of nature on the one side, and of art on the other."

The banquet was a scene of great enthusiasm. At its conclusion one of the peers proposed the health of the king with three times three. Every individual in the Hall rose, and nine rounds of cheers were given. These having subsided, the Lord Chancellor proposed, "We drink the health of a subject three times three; we should have drunk that of His Majesty with nine times nine," which was followed by another burst of exultation. When the excitement had subsided His Majesty rose, and in a voice which could be heard in every part of the Hall, said, "His Majesty thanks his peers for drinking his health, and does them the honour of drinking their health and that of his good people." The king then retired, and the company, tired out with the long day, sought their carriages, glad to get away at last. No sooner had the last of them left the Hall than the people in the galleries and many from outside swarmed in, and in an incredibly short space of time cleared the tables -

of everything on them. The viands were consumed by the almost starving multitude, many of whom had had nothing to eat all day, and when there was nothing left to eat or drink they carried off flower-pots, vases, figures, glasses, spoons, knives, forks, plates, and even dishes, as souvenirs of the day. Even ladies and gentlemen in Court dress were seen marching off with dirty dishes and plates as trophies. Most of the articles bore the royal arms and the words "Geo. IV." It is interesting to notice that this was the first function which took place in Westminster Hall after it had been repaired. The old roof had been condemned as unsafe, and a new one put up, which was composed of forty loads of timber from Portsmouth, taken from the old men-of-war which were being broken up.

William IV. had as great a distaste for show and display as his predecessor had delighted in them, and he even raised the question as to whether it was not possible to dispense altogether with the ceremony of coronation. The first time the king attended Parliament, while placing the crown on his own head he said to the Lord Chancellor, "This, my lord, is my coronation day." A coronation was, however, considered necessary; but it was publicly announced "that those parts of the ceremony which had been fitted to a period when the outward senses were made

panders to the all-absorbing superstition within, should be rejected, and only those retained in which an educated, inquiring people may see some relation between the nature of a kingly contract and its accompanying incidents." Among other ceremonies which were dispensed with were the procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, the office of the Champion, and the State banquet in Westminster Hall. The enthronement took place on September 8, 1831. The weather was wretched; but despite the pitiless rain, every window and balcony was full, and the roadways were lined deep with people who braved the elements to see the procession. Their Majesties drove in state from St. James's Palace direct to the Abbey, by way of Pall Mall, Charing Cross, and Parliament Street. The moment the crown was placed on the king's head a telegraphic message was dispatched to Portsmouth to announce the event, and a royal salute was fired there within the space of three minutes, and while the king was yet seated upon the throne. There was a gala dinner at St. James's Palace in the evening, and London was magnificently illuminated. A brilliant display of fireworks took place in Hyde Park, and all places of amusement were open gratuitously. This coronation was estimated to have cost about £50,000, while that of George IV. fell but little short of a quarter of a million.

At the coronation of Queen Victoria the same precedent was followed, and the procession on a long platform from Westminster Hall to the Abbey was omitted, as were also the banquet in the Hall and all the attendant ceremonies and feudal services. This occasioned a great deal of adverse criticism and many public struggles, the tradesmen of London being particularly averse to any abridgment of the festivities. A royal procession from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey was substituted for the older ceremonials, and the route selected being a long one, namely by way of Constitution Hill, Hyde Park Corner, Piccadilly, St. James's Street, Pall Mall and Parliament Street, it gave opportunity for many more people to behold it, without a possibility of the recurrence of the disorderly scenes which had marred the success of other coronations. Seats to view the procession were let at prices varying from ten shillings to five guineas. In St. James's Street houses were let for £200 or £300: for the house in Pall Mall which had been the Reform Club £500 was paid for the day, but in other places from £50 to £300 was given for a house. Every house or vacant spot by which the procession was to pass was hidden under scaffolding or galleries, but in the streets, especially on Constitution Hill, the crowd was not as dense as had been anticipated.

The beautiful summer morning was ushered in by a royal salute, which was fired at sunrise by twelve pieces of artillery stationed in St. James's Park. As early as six o'clock the troops who were to keep the route marched into position, and at nine the procession began to be marshalled into order. Half an hour later the various royal personages who were to take part in it commenced to arrive in quick succession. At ten o'clock the boom of cannon announced that the queen had left the Palace, and the bright new standard, which measured thirty feet by eighteen, was hoisted at the Marble Arch. The peers and peeresses went direct to the Abbey, and were conducted immediately on their arrival to the places reserved for them—the peers in the south transept, almost as far back as the Poets' Corner, and the peeresses in the north transept. They were not included in the procession, which though a very long one consisted only of the resident foreign ministers, ambassadors extraordinary, resident foreign ambassadors, the members of the royal family, pages, women of the bedchamber, maids of honour, lords and ladies in waiting, military staff, aides-de-camp, royal huntsmen, yeomen prickers and foresters, the marshals, Yeomen of the Guard, Her Majesty the Queen with the officers of the household and a squadron of the Household Brigade. It was a

very different scene from the gay cavalcades which in olden times used to issue from the gloomy portals of the Tower and thread their way through the winding streets of mediæval London to Westminster. Times have indeed changed. It is no longer necessary for the sovereign to ride in triumph through the capital to show that he is master of the turbulent City, nor is there any defect in title to be kept out of sight by an extravagant display of regal pomp. And so the modern version of the royal escort of mediæval times swept on in the bright sunshine which came to greet the sovereign on her coronation morning, and which remained her good friend throughout her long reign until "Queen's weather" grew to be proverbial. Times may change, but not so Englishmen when it is a matter of love and loyalty to their sovereign; and could any of the grim warrior-kings of old times have been present, and could they have witnessed the greeting bestowed on the girl-queen by her subjects as she passed on her way to be crowned, they would have had no cause for regretting that monarchy, as an institution, was out of date.

Marshal Soult was the most prominent figure among the ambassadors. His great state carriage, too, excited universal interest, for it had been used on many occasions of state by the last great

prince of the house of Condé, the father of the Duc de Bourbon. Many stories are current about the means to which the ambassadors had resorted in order to provide themselves with suitable equipages. Some of them bought or hired the sheriffs' carriages, and had them done up for the occasion. The hire of one of these was £250 for that day! The Count Strogonoff, Ambassador Extraordinary to the Emperor of Russia, appeared in a wonderful state coach which he had purchased from the Duke of Devonshire, who had used it when on a special embassy to St. Petersburg. The foreign ministers were greatly impressed by the crowd and the scene along the route of the procession. Prince Esterhazy said, "Strogonoff and the others do not like you, but they feel it, and it makes a great impression on them: in fact, nothing can be seen like this in any other country."

The appearance of the interior of the Abbey was very fine, but many people thought that too many galleries had been erected, and that it would have been better if fewer people had been admitted. As it was, the architectural beauties of the Abbey were hidden from view behind the scaffoldings, and the red baize used for covering the woodwork was not worthy of the occasion. Marshal Soult was greeted with a murmur of applause, and so was the Duke of

Wellington. So much space had been taken up for the seating accommodation that there was not much room left for the procession, and thus a fine effect was lost. "The different actors in the ceremonial were very imperfect in their parts," says Greville, "and had neglected to rehearse them. Lord John Thynne, who officiated for the Dean of Westminster, told me that nobody knew what was to be done except the archbishop and himself (who had rehearsed), Lord Willoughby (who is experienced in these matters), and the Duke of Wellington, and consequently there was a continual difficulty and embarrassment, and the queen never knew what she was to do next. They made her leave her chair and enter into St. Edward's Chapel before the prayers were concluded, much to the discomfiture of the archbishop. She said to John Thynne, 'Pray tell me what I am to do, for they don't know'; and at the end, when the orb was put into her hand, she said to him, 'What am I to do with it?' 'Your Majesty is to carry it, if you please, in your hand.' 'Am I?' she said; 'it is very heavy.' The ruby ring was made for her little finger instead of the fourth, on which the rubric prescribes that it should be put. When the archbishop was to put it on, she extended the former, but he said it must be on the latter. She said it was too small, and she could not

get it on. He said it was right to put it there, and, as he insisted, she yielded, but had first to take off her other rings, and then this was forced on; but it hurt her very much, and as soon as the ceremony was over she was obliged to bathe her finger in iced water in order to get it off. The noise, the confusion were very great when the medals were thrown about by Lord Surrey, every one scrambling with all their might and main to get them, and none more vigorously than the maids of honour. There was a great demonstration when the Duke of Wellington did homage. Lord Rolle, who is between eighty and ninety, fell down as he was getting up the steps of the throne. Her first impulse was to rise, and when, afterwards, he came again to do homage, she said, 'May I not get up and meet him?' and then rose from the throne and advanced down one or two of the steps to prevent his coming up—an act of graciousness and kindness which made a great sensation. She sent in the evening to inquire after Lord Rolle."*

A gala dinner was given at Buckingham Palace in the evening, at which covers were laid for one hundred persons. Afterwards the royal party went on to the roof of the Palace to see a display of fireworks which took place in the Green Park. London was magnificently

* Greville, *Memoirs*.

illuminated, and many places of amusement were opened gratuitously to all comers. The day passed off very well. The multitudes who thronged the streets were orderly and satisfied, and very few accidents occurred.

We have thus reached the latest of a long series of living pictures, in which are dimly shadowed forth the many vicissitudes through which the nation has passed: the brief periods of disaster, the transient days of triumph. It has not been an unbroken record of prosperity: there are many dark pages in the annals of our history on which it is painful to dwell. But, despite a few halts, the march of the nation has ever been steadily onward, and that we are not yet standing still will be made manifest to the most casual observer at home and the most rabid anglophobe abroad, when the next of these scenes comes to be enacted. The coronation of King Edward VII. will be the most memorable that will ever have taken place, in that a new and glorious element will enter into it—that of imperialism; for Greater Britain has come into existence since the last occasion on which a sovereign was enthroned in Westminster Abbey, and the title of Emperor of India will also be added to the style of former monarchs. When the king, standing by the archbishop's side in the Abbey, comes to face the assembled people,



GEORGE IV.

and is presented to them in accordance with the ancient custom of recognition, there will be some present who will have journeyed over many thousand miles of ocean in order to represent our great Indian Empire and the rich and flourishing provinces of the British Colonies in distant corners of the earth, and in their name to take a share in enthroning the king. The coronation of a British sovereign is no longer a local event, and it will be celebrated with a demonstration of loyalty to the throne which will be world-wide in extent.

CHAPTER VI

CONCERNING REGALIA

THE earliest form of a crown appears to have been a fillet or band tied round the head and worn either for ornament or for the purpose of keeping up the hair. The name crown appears to have been given indiscriminately to a fillet of gold or silver, to a garland of leaves or twigs, such as was worn by guests at a banquet, and even, as in the case of the Jewish High Priest, to a plain linen band bearing a jewel in front. When kings came into fashion, a special head-dress as a symbol of royalty was considered desirable, and they usually wore crowns whenever they appeared in public, although it was not until much later that the formal ceremony of coronation was instituted. Even after this time kings still continued to wear their crowns, but by gradual degrees the custom died out. Our Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings appeared in public at all high festivals, such as Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and on all state occasions,

with their crowns on, as did also the early Plantagenets. Edward I. was the first king who neglected to conform to the custom, pleading that crowns did more onerate than honour princes ; and after his time kings rarely appeared in public crowned. When coronets came to be worn in general by persons of high distinction, other symbols of royalty came to be considered necessary for giving emphasis to the exalted position of a king. The orb and the sceptre were then added. The staff was borne before him to signify that his path was clear and no one would impede his progress ; the swords were carried before him to imply the exercise of justice and mercy. The sword of state and the spurs indicated his military character, and the vestments the sacred nature of his high office.

The ancient regalia of England was destroyed in the time of the Commonwealth. It consisted then of St. Edward's crown, the orb, the sceptre with the dove, the sceptre with the cross, the staff, the bracelets, the spurs, the ring, the comb, the ampulla and spoon, the chalice and paten, and robes and vestments and other royal ensigns, all of which are believed to have belonged to Edward the Confessor. There was also the crown of St. Edgitha, used for crowning the queen consorts, and the orb and sceptre with which they were invested. It is believed that

the greater part of all these were actually as old if not even older than the time of the Confessor. "The excessive veneration," says Planché, "with which even to this day his memory is regarded by the Roman Catholics, must have had its effect not only upon the persons to whom was confided the care of his personal ornaments, but upon the sovereigns who were successively invested with them, and the people who considered them the heirlooms of the monarchy. No report of their ever having been lost, or altered, or indeed once being removed from the custody of the monks at Westminster has reached us, and they were never produced but for the express purpose of the coronation, each monarch having his own crown of state, sometimes several, besides other symbols of royalty, made to wear and to bear on all other occasions."

The crown with which all the sovereigns of England up to the time of Charles I. were crowned, probably belonged originally to King Alfred. When in 1649 the Parliamentarians had determined upon the destruction of the regalia, they ordered an inventory to be made of the contents of the Jewel House in the cloisters at Westminster. In this, mention is made of only one crown, which is called "King Alfred's crowne," and is described as being of "gould wyreworke set with slight stones, and two little

bells." There is documentary evidence to prove that King Alfred's crown was in existence in the thirteenth century. Previous to Alfred the kings were only elected and anointed; he is the first sovereign whose coronation is mentioned, and it is quite conceivable, that the rite, which is believed to have been solemnised for the first time in his case, would not only be continued by succeeding kings from the mere fact of its close association with him, but also that the actual crown employed on the occasion would be carefully preserved and handed down from one generation of kings to another. It therefore came to Edward the Confessor in his turn, and was entrusted by him to the care of the Abbot and monks of Westminster. In the description of Richard I.'s coronation, which is the earliest of which a full account has been preserved, no mention is made of St. Edward's crown, it is simply called "the crown." It is not until Edward II.'s time that the crown used in the inauguration ceremony is spoken of as St. Edward's. All authorities seem to agree, however, that this is the same crown which was employed at all the coronations up to the Commonwealth, but unfortunately we do not know what its shape was, beyond that it had no velvet lining. The cap of maintenance used to be first placed on the king's head and over that

he wore the crown. Crowns with velvet caps are of a later date. Royal portraits which have come down to us do not help us, as the monarchs are invariably represented wearing their crowns of state, which each one had made expressly for himself.

St. Edward's crown, which had been preserved with the greatest care for upwards of seven centuries, was ruthlessly broken up by the agents of the Parliamentary party. It was found to weigh seventy-nine and a half ounces, and as gold was worth £3 per ounce, it was valued at £248:10s. The stones were sold for what they would fetch. Queen Edgitha's crown, with which the queen consorts used to be crowned, was found to be only of silver gilt, and was valued at £16. The robes and vestments, which are believed to have belonged to the Confessor, were considered quite worthless. It is obvious, of course, that they were really old—very old in fact; but some people might have considered the fact of their having been used at the investiture of the sovereigns for a long roll of centuries to amount to something. Not so the vandals of the Commonwealth, however, who were nothing if not practical. A pair of gold embroidered gloves they valued at one shilling; a pair of shoes of cloth of gold at two shillings; a pair of buskins of cloth of silver and silver stockings, very old, they put down at half

a crown; one robe laced with gold lace, at ten shillings; a taffety crimson robe, very old, at ten shillings; and one "livor cullrd. silke robe" at nothing at all. The total value of the regalia, including King Alfred's and Queen Edgitha's crowns, the sceptres, spurs, swords, and other objects used at the coronations, they set down at £612:17:8, and they considered, no doubt, that they had done exceedingly well in realising such a good round sum for such meaningless trifles, and possibly regarded it in the light of an excellent day's work.

Down to the time of the Commonwealth, the Treasury, as containing the regalia, had been in the custody of the Chapter of Westminster as before of the convent. The Parliamentary party had long been haunted by a terrible fear lest the regalia should escape their clutches, and even during the lifetime of Charles I. they had forced their way into the Treasury to assure themselves that they were safe, pleading as an excuse that Dean Williams was alleged to have carried them away to keep them out of their hands. "On January 23, 1643, a motion was made in the Commons that the dean, sub-dean, and prebendaries should be required to deliver up the keys; and the question put whether, upon their refusal, the door should be broken open. So strong was the deference to the ancient

rights of the Chapter that, even in that excited time, the question was lost by 58 to 37; and when the doors were finally forced open, it was only on the distinct understanding that an inventory be taken only, and that locks should be put upon the doors and nothing removed till upon the further order of the House. Even this was only carried by 42 against 41." "Henry Martin" (such was the story, says Dean Stanley) "had been entrusted with the welcome task; and England has never seen a ceremony so nearly approaching to the Revolutions of the Continent as when the stern enthusiast, with the malicious humour for which he was noted, broke open the huge iron chest in the ancient Chapel of the Treasury, and dragged out the crown, sword, and robes, consecrated by the use of six hundred years, and put them on George Wither the poet," "who being thus crowned and royally arrayed," says Wood, "first marched about the room with a stately garb, and afterwards, with a thousand apish and ridiculous actions, exposed those sacred ornaments to contempt and laughter." They were put back in their accustomed places, however, and it was not until six or seven years later that their destruction was decided upon.

Sir Henry Mildmay, the keeper of the Jewel Houses, was never able to overcome the odium

with which he was regarded owing to his share in this transaction. It was the destruction of King Alfred's beautiful filigree crown in particular which inspired such strong detestation of him, and there were no doubt many who were in strong sympathy with the sentiment which inspired the eccentric Earl of Pembroke to leave £50 in his will to a footman who had given Sir Henry Mildmay a thrashing. "My will is," said Lord Pembroke in the same document, "that the said Sir Harry shall not meddle with my jewells. I knew him when he served the Duke of Buckingham, and, since, how he handled the Crowne jewells, for both which reasons I now name him knave of diamonds."

So our regalia cannot boast of any high antiquity, most of our present ensigns of royalty having been made for the coronation of Charles II. The ancient names were retained. Of the two crowns ordered for that ceremony the one used to crown the king was called St. Edward's Crown, the sceptre with the cross is still known as St. Edward's Sceptre, and the staff as St. Edward's Staff. An attempt was even made to retain the ancient form of each of the symbols, but as careful drawings of the originals had not been made, it is doubtful whether this was done. The sum of £31,978:9:11 was paid to the king's goldsmith, Sir Henry Viner, in 1662, for the new regalia, which sum included the cost of

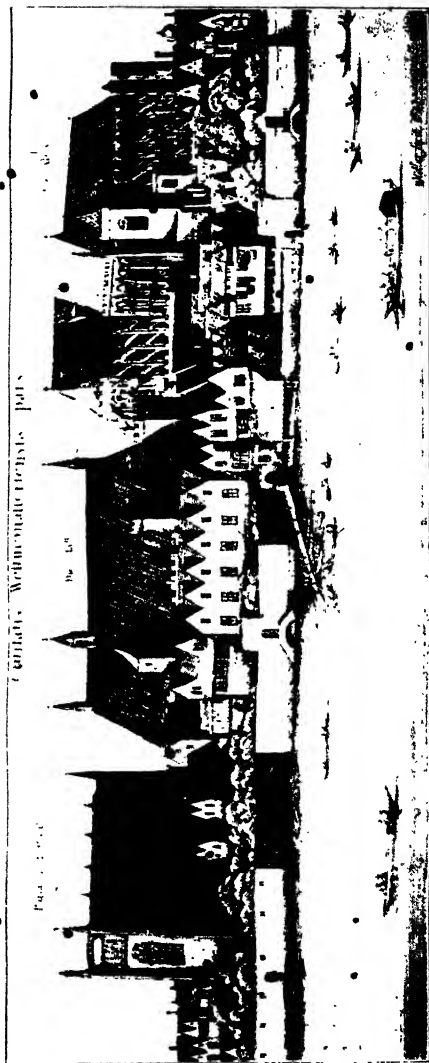
two crowns set with precious stones, one for crowning the king, and the other for His Majesty to wear on his return to Westminster Hall. As Charles was unmarried, a crown for the queen consort was not provided until the next reign. It is a circlet of gold, and was made for Marie d'Este, the wife of James II., at a cost of £110,000. Another crown was made for Mary II., who being joint sovereign with her husband, required something rather more important than just the diadem of a queen consort; the second orb was also made for this queen for the same reason. There are sceptres for the king and queen, and a sceptre made specially for Mary II., St. Edward's Staff, which is carried before the sovereign, the orb, the bracelets, the spurs and the four swords, Curtana, the pointless sword of mercy, the sword of justice to the Spirituality, the sword of justice to the Temporality. The swords are all carried before the sovereign in the procession, both previous to and after the coronation; the great sword of state is girded on him during the ceremony of investiture. The ring is newly made for each sovereign, as is, of course, the second crown.

The ampulla, which contains the consecrated oil, is a vessel of finely chased gold in the form of an eagle standing on a pedestal, and having outstretched wings. The body of the bird is hollow: the head screws off about the middle of

the neck to allow of the oil being put in, and the head is also hollow with an opening in the beak through which it is poured into the spoon. This ampulla is believed to have been in use at all coronations since the reign of Henry IV., and there is a curious legend attached to it. When Thomas à Becket was in banishment in France, he was praying one night in a church at Sens when the Virgin Mary suddenly appeared and delivered to him a golden eagle and a small vial of stone or glass, assuring him that any king of England anointed with the oil contained in them would prove to be a merciful ruler and a distinguished champion of the Church. The word the chronicler uses for "champions" rendered literally would mean prize-fighter—a curious expression to be attributed to a sacred personage. He was commanded to consign these precious objects to a monk of Poitiers, who would conceal it in a large stone in the Church of St. Gregory. The archbishop's sudden death probably prevented his imparting the secret to any one—certainly nobody appears to have known anything about it until it was discovered long afterwards by revelation to a certain holy man, who brought the golden eagle to the Duke of Lancaster, by whom it was sent to the Black Prince. He caused it to be conveyed to the Tower and to be kept

safely in a strong chest, but, by some accident, it was put on one side, and was not discovered until 1399, when Richard II. caused an inquisition of the treasures in the Tower to be made. Then this eagle and jar were found, together with a manuscript in the handwriting of Thomas à Becket giving an account of them. So impressed was Richard by this document that he wished to be anointed with the oil, and applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the purpose. But Arundel is said to have refused, alleging that having once received the sacred unction it could not be administered again. A few months afterwards Richard was deposed, and the oil was employed at the coronation of his rival, Henry IV. Such is the tradition attaching to this beautiful little vessel. Whether it was concocted by Henry IV. to strengthen his weak title to the throne, or was intended to outrival the legend of the Sainte Ampoule used at the coronations of the kings of France we do not know, but this is the version given of the way in which the ampulla came into the English regalia. Of the history of the spoon we know nothing, but from its workmanship and extreme thinness it is presumed to be very ancient.

When at the Restoration the new regalia were furnished for the coronation, it was



WESTMINSTER IN 1547.

determined not to return them to the old Jewel House in the cloisters at Westminster, where the ancient Treasury had been, but to lodge them in the Tower, where they have remained ever since. On the eve of a coronation they are removed to Westminster and delivered to the Dean, who hands them over the next day to the Lord High Constable. They were deposited at first in a room in St. Martin's Tower, and it was here that Colonel Blood, in 1671, made an attempt to steal them. He disguised himself as a clergyman, and accompanied by an accomplice, who passed herself off as his wife, went to the Tower and requested to be shown the regalia. While they were waiting there, the lady feigned sudden indisposition, and during the time that Mrs. Edwards, the keeper's wife, who had come to her assistance, was attending to her, Blood inspected the windows and the doors and acquainted himself with the position of the room and the best means of gaining access to it. He made the kindness of Mrs. Edwards to his pretended wife an excuse for calling on her later with a present of gloves; by degrees he became on very intimate terms with the family, and finally negotiations were set on foot for arranging a marriage between the daughter of Edwards and one of Blood's nephews. On one occasion Blood dined with the family, and in his character of

clergyman said grace before the meal with great devotion, concluding with a prayer for the king, queen, and the royal family. On the appointed day he brought his pretended nephew to see the young lady, and also another young man whom he introduced as a friend. A third accomplice was left outside to give the alarm if any one came, and a fourth was waiting beyond the Tower precincts with their horses. On their asking to see the regalia, Edwards unsuspectingly took them into the room where they were, when Blood and his accomplices suddenly gagged him, and on his making a fierce resistance stabbed him several times and wounded him severely in many places. With great haste they proceeded to batter the crown and flatten it, and Blood put it under his cloak; but as they were about to file the sceptre in half to put it into a bag which they had brought with them for the purpose, they were disturbed by the unexpected arrival from Flanders of a son of Mr. Edwards. They immediately decamped with the crown and the orb only, and a most exciting chase took place. The cry of "Treason!" and "Murder!" was raised, and young Edwards and one or two others started in hot pursuit. A warder put himself in the way of the fugitives, but on Colonel Blood discharging a pistol at him he valiantly fell to the ground, although Blood

missed him. The sentinel at the drawbridge let them pass, and as they ran along the Tower Wharf they cried out, "Stop the rogues," so that no one thought of stopping them. However, they were overtaken and seized before they reached the spot where the horses were waiting for them. On being captured Blood said, "It was a gallant attempt, however unsuccessful: it was for a crown." In the scrimmage a large pearl, a large diamond, as well as some smaller stones, fell out of the crown, but fortunately most of them were recovered. The balas ruby, broken off the sceptre, was found in the pocket of Blood's accomplice, so that nothing of great importance was lost. Strange to say, Colonel Blood did not receive any severe punishment for this outrage. Charles ordered him to be examined in his presence, and he partly overawed and partly captivated the king by his bearing and by the bold face he put upon it, so that not only did he receive a pardon but was even admitted to the Court and given a pension of £500. On his death in 1680 some wag wrote:—

Thanks, ye kind fates, for your last favour shown
In stealing Blood, who lately stole the Crown.

The Imperial State Crown worn by Queen Victoria at her coronation was made for her by the Court jewellers in 1838 from stones taken

from old crowns and others furnished by Her Majesty's command. It has a crimson velvet cap lined with white silk and an ermine border. Above this is a band of jewels edged on both sides by a row of pearls, on the upper edge of which rest four large Maltese crosses, *patée*, alternating with four fleurs-de-lys. These are all entirely covered with diamonds; each fleur-de-lys has a large ruby in the centre, the Maltese crosses have emerald centres, excepting the front cross, which has a magnificent ruby. Above the crosses rise four imperial arches in the shape of oak leaves and acorns of diamonds set in silver, which meet in the centre of the crown and support a mound with a cross on its summit; with the exception of a rose-cut sapphire in the centre of the cross the stones here are all either brilliants or rose diamonds. The total of the jewels in the crown is one large ruby irregularly polished; one large broad-spread sapphire, sixteen sapphires, eleven emeralds, four rubies, one thousand three hundred and sixty-three brilliant diamonds, twelve hundred and seventy-three rose diamonds, one hundred and forty-seven table diamonds, four drop-shaped pearls and two hundred and seventy-three pearls.

The great ruby was presented to Edward the Black Prince, son of Edward III., by his father-in-law, Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, in

return for the great services which the prince had rendered him. Pedro had obtained it by treachery. He had promised a safe conduct to the Red King of Grenada, and on his arrival at Seville treated him well. But the next day, the Red King and all his attendants were murdered by the orders of Pedro, who wished to possess himself of the jewels of the Moorish prince, which he knew to be both many and valuable. The Black Prince used to wear the ruby in his hat, and Horace Walpole mentions a portrait of him, which he believed to be genuine, in which the prince is represented wearing a hat adorned with a white feather and a large ruby "exactly the shape of the rough ruby still in the crown," says Walpole. Henry V. went into the battlefield of Agincourt wearing a helmet adorned with a rich crown garnished with many jewels, among them being this ruby. So fierce was the fight that the crown was broken and many of the jewels lost; but one of the prisoners, captured during the fight, promised to reveal where they were, provided he obtained his liberty without ransom. The jewels were recovered, but the prisoner, it is said, was not liberated. Queen Elizabeth, who was extravagantly fond of jewels, did not have this ruby set in her crown, but kept it by her. When Sir James Melville was sent by Mary Queen of Scots on a special

mission to London, Elizabeth evinced the strongest desire to show herself off to him to the best advantage, in order to establish herself in his estimation above Mary, of whom she was profoundly jealous. She danced to him, and played to him on the virginals, and took him to her bedchamber to show him some of her most valuable possessions." Among them was this stone. Melville says, "She showed me a fair ruby, great like a racket ball." The ruby was then pierced at the top with a small hole to enable it to be worn suspended from the neck, but the hole was afterwards filled with a small ruby set in gold. The great sapphire in the front of the band is believed to have been once in the possession of Edward the Confessor, and it was said to invest its wearer with the power of curing the cramp. It remained a Crown jewel and was worn by most of the sovereigns, but when James II. was deposed he took it with him into exile, and it remained in the possession of the Stuarts until the death of the Cardinal of York, who bequeathed it to George III. It appears then to have passed into other hands, for George IV. on his accession purchased it for the sum of £60,000 and placed it in his crown.

St. Edward's crown, which is employed for the actual ceremony of coronation, is of the same design as the crown just described; having

a band or circlet supporting four fleurs-de-lys alternating with four Maltese crosses, patée, out of which rise two arches bearing a mound surmounted by a cross at the point where they intersect. It is of gold with some very fine jewels, but is not as rich in value or as elegant in design as the State crown. The Prince of Wales's crown is of plain gold unadorned with jewels, and is also of this pattern, as are, too, the coronets worn by the princes of the blood, the sons, brothers and uncles of the sovereign, which differ only in respect of their having no arches, which are a mark of independent sovereignty and are only allowed in the crown of the Prince of Wales by courtesy. The crowns worn by former Princes of Wales, up to the end of the seventeenth century, had no arches. The coronets of the princesses of Great Britain are of plain gold and resemble those of the princes, except that two Maltese crosses and two strawberry leaves alternate with the four fleurs-de-lys instead of the four crosses.

In 1841 a fire broke out at the Tower, and the flames made such rapid progress in the direction of the Jewel House that it was considered advisable to remove the regalia. They were, however, enclosed within a strong iron grating and the keys were not forthcoming. Meanwhile the fire rapidly gained ground. A crow-bar was found

and a narrow opening hastily made in the grating, through which Mr. Pierse, of the Metropolitan Police Force, managed to creep, and with much difficulty contrived to hand out the various articles. But the great silver font proved too large, and the crow-bar was again in requisition, and a larger aperture had to be made. By dint of great exertions and at no small personal risk—for the heat by this time was so intense that the garments of the rescue party were almost in a charred state—the whole of the regalia were saved. The warders, escorted by a bodyguard composed of firemen and policemen, carried them all to a place of safety. The present Jewel House was erected in the following year.

The vestments with which the sovereign is robed in the coronation service are four in number: the colobium sindonis, the dalmatica or surtunic, the stole, and the imperial mantle. The robes worn by Queen Victoria at her coronation are in the custody of the Keeper of the Robes, and are kept at St. James's Palace. The colobium sindonis represents the alb of a priest or the rochet of a bishop. It is of soft fine linen and is open at the sides, being cut low on the neck, and is sleeveless. It has a deep flounce of lace and is edged at the sides with narrow lace: with it Queen Victoria wore, as a girdle, a thick gold cord with heavy bullion tassels.

Over this the sovereign wears the dalmatica or super-tunic; a long jacket with great pointed sleeves and without a fastening. It is of cloth of gold and is edged with gold lace. Queen Victoria's dalmatica had a beautiful pattern of wavy palm leaves outlined in green, which enclosed at intervals pink roses with green leaves, green shamrocks and purple thistles, all carried out in exquisite pale shades of silk. It was lined with rose-coloured silk.

After the dalmatica comes the stole, which is worn round the neck, hanging down on either side. That worn by Queen Victoria was a band of cloth of gold three inches in width and five feet two inches in length, with a bullion fringe at either end. A design of pink roses, silver Imperial Eagles, silver and green shamrocks, and silver and purple thistles, was interwoven with the gold thread. The lining was of pink silk to match the dalmatica.

Over all comes the imperial mantle, which is foursquare, to represent, it is said, the four quarters of the globe subject to the Divine authority, and which is embroidered with four golden eagles. It corresponds to the cope worn by a bishop. Queen Victoria's imperial mantle was of cloth of gold, lined with rose-coloured silk, and was about sixty-five inches long, measuring twenty-eight inches across the shoulders. The

design interwoven with the gold thread was ovals in purple silk enclosing in order green thistles, green shamrocks, red and white Tudor roses with green leaves, silver eagles and silver coronets alternating with silver fleurs-de-lys; the colours being more decided and stronger in tone than those employed in the dalmatica and the stole. A hook at the back prevents it from slipping, and it is secured in front with a gold clasp.

The Bible on which the sovereign takes the oath is now supplied for each occasion; but there is a beautiful old manuscript with a binding of exquisite workmanship in the British Museum, on which it is said all the kings from Henry I. to Henry VIII. took the coronation oath. It passed into private hands, and was in the Ashburnham Library when it was acquired by the British Museum.

In the middle of the last century a jewel of great value passed into the possession of Queen Victoria in the famous diamond known as the Koh-I-Noor, which was ceded to the East India Company when they annexed the Punjaub, and was presented by them to Her Majesty. It has had a most eventful history, and has passed through so many vicissitudes and has been the occasion of so much bloodshed that the natives of India regard it with superstitious awe. Ac-

According to one tradition it was discovered in the first instance in the bed of the Godavery, near Masulipatam, five thousand years ago; while another states that in the fourteenth century it was taken by the Sultan Ala-ed-din from the Rajah of Malwa, in whose family it had been an heirloom since 57 B.C. In 1526 it was in the possession of the Rajah of Gwalior, but on his defeat by the Sultan Barber, the founder of the Mogul Empire, it was discovered among the treasures at Delhi which fell into the hands of the conqueror. It was known as the famous diamond even then, and was described by its new owner as being worth half the daily expenditure of the world. It remained at Delhi until 1739, and is said to have adorned the famous peacock throne which was one of the glories of the Mogul dynasty, the value of which was estimated at twelve millions sterling. The Koh-I-Noor is believed by some people to have furnished one of the eyes of this wonderful peacock. When Mohammed Shah was on the throne the Mogul Empire was invaded by Nadir Shah, the Emperor of Persia, who defeated Mohammed in 1739 and levied tribute on him. He carried off this famous throne and other treasure to the value of seventy millions sterling, but the diamond was not among them. It is related of him that, having heard of it, he was anxious to secure it

for himself, but that it was not to be found anywhere. After trying in vain to discover where it was hidden, he was told by one of the women in Mohammed's harem that the Emperor had concealed it in the folds of his turban, which he never by any chance laid aside. Then Nadir had recourse to a stratagem. "At a grand ceremony a few days afterwards, held in Delhi, for the purpose of reinstating Mohammed on the throne of his Tartar ancestors, Nadir suddenly took the opportunity of asking him to exchange turbans, in token of reconciliation and in order to cement the eternal friendship that they had just sworn for each other." This was a time-honoured Oriental custom, seldom omitted by princes of equal rank on State occasions. "Taken completely aback by this sudden move, and lacking leisure even for reflections, Mohammed found himself checkmated by his wily rival, and was fain, with as much grace as possible, to accept the insidious request. Indeed the Persian conqueror left him no option, for he quickly removed his own national sheepskin head-dress, glittering with costly gems, and replaced it with the Emperor's turban. Maintaining the proverbial self-command of Oriental potentates, Mohammed betrayed his surprise and chagrin by no outward sign, and so indifferent did he seem to the exchange, that for

a moment Nadir began to feel he had been misled. Anxious to be relieved of his doubts, he hastily dismissed the durbar with renewed assurances of friendship and devotion. Withdrawing to his tent he unfolded the turban, to discover, with selfish rapture, the long-coveted stone. He hailed the sparkling gem with the exclamation, 'Koh-I-Noor!' signifying in English, 'Mountain of Light.' *

At Nadir's death the stone passed to his son, Shah Rokh, a man of feeble powers, who was soon deprived of his throne and treasures, but who clung to a few of his most valuable gems with extraordinary strength of purpose, undergoing the worst tortures, even to the putting out of his eyes, rather than yield them up. In 1751 one of the Afghan princes came to his assistance and restored him to his throne, receiving as a reward the great diamond. It was now in the possession of the Durani dynasty in Afghanistan for two generations; but the second prince, Shah Zaman, was deposed and deprived of his sight by Shah Shuja, his next brother. He was for many years imprisoned in a fortress, but with great cunning he managed to secrete the diamond in the plaster of the walls of the room where he was confined. When the plaster began to wear away, the

* Streeter.

sharp edges of the crystal were exposed, and one of the officials happening to scratch his hand against it one day in passing, discovered its hiding-place. In future, at all State ceremonies Shah Shuja wore it on his breast. Lord Elphinstone, when he went as special envoy to Peshawur, remarked on this wonderful stone.

In his turn Shah Shuja was dethroned, deprived of his sight and exiled, but he managed to retain possession of the Koh-I-Noor in spite of his many misfortunes. He and his consort became apparently the guests, but in reality the prisoners of Runjit - Singh, the Lion of the Punjaub, who, although no connoisseur of precious stones, attached much importance to their possession, and having heard of the fame of the Koh-I-Noor, determined to possess himself of it. Shah Shuja he kept in captivity, and believing that the Begum had the diamond, he commanded her to give it up. She pleaded she had not got it, whereupon he seized all her effects, but failed to find it. He then treated her and her family with great harshness, and to propitiate him, she sent him some costly stones and a ruby of very great value. Runjit showed them to an expert, and was furious at hearing that the Koh-I-Noor was not amongst them. He employed still harsher measures in his dealings with the Begum, who finally treated with him for the

possession of the stone. Shah Shuja volunteered to surrender it on certain conditions, and a day was fixed for it to be made over to Runjit.

The interview was a curious one. Runjit and Shah Shuja were seated opposite one another, but for a long time they did not speak, and profound silence reigned. Runjit, notwithstanding his impatience, abstained from breaking the silence for over an hour, then he hinted to a confidant that he might quietly remind Shah Shuja of the object of their meeting. This was done, and a slave was sent for the diamond. He returned with a packet, which he placed on the carpet at an equal distance from the two princes. Another deep silence followed, during which Runjit, fuming with excitement, could barely restrain himself. At length he commanded an attendant to open the packet, and, delighted with the gem, he questioned Shah Shuja as to the value he put on it. "At good luck," replied Shah Shuja, "for it has ever been the associate of him who has vanquished his foes." He received 125,000 rupees for it and a pension of 60,000 rupees each for himself and for his brother, and 60,000 rupees to each of their eldest sons. Runjit had the diamond set in a bracelet which he wore on all public occasions. At his death an attempt was made to secure it for the famous Temple of Juggernaut, which,

however, failed. At the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, one of the stipulations was the surrender of the Koh-I-Noor, which was presented to Queen Victoria.

When it came to England, its appearance was slightly disappointing to many who had heard of its fame. It was lacking in light, being scarcely more brilliant than a piece of grey crystal; and had been badly cut. It had a flat top, irregular sides, and a multitude of tiny facets; there were several distinct flaws in it caused by small caves, which, according to Sir David Brewster, were the result of the expansive forces of condensed gas, a circumstance which would make the cutting of it a matter of great difficulty. However, after much consultation, it was decided to have it done, and the task was entrusted to a famous firm of Amsterdam jewellers. A small four-horse machine was erected in the atelier of the Crown jewels in the Tower. Mr. Sebastian Gerrard superintended the recutting, the actual work being done by Mr. Voorsanger of Amsterdam. The Prince Consort placed the stone on the mill; and the Duke of Wellington gave the wheel the first turn, and thus auspiciously inaugurated the work of recutting began. It went on for a period of thirty-eight days, twelve hours being devoted to it each day. So much

trouble was experienced in getting rid of one of the flaws, that the revolutions of the wheel had to be increased to three thousand per minute, and even then very slow progress was made. Many professors and men of note went to the workshop to watch operations, which excited a good deal of interest. One of the visitors is said to have asked Mr. Garrard what he would do if the diamond were suddenly to fly into pieces during the progress of the work, which is what some experts averred would happen. "Take my name-plate off the door and bolt," he replied promptly. The diamond lost eighty carats altogether during the process, and was reduced to its present weight of 106 $\frac{1}{8}$ carats. It is now set in a brooch, which Queen Victoria used occasionally to wear on State occasions, and is kept at Windsor. A model of it, showing it as it was when it was first brought from India to this country, may be seen in the case with the Crown jewels at the Tower. It is there represented as it appeared in the armulet of Shah Shuja, and was thus exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851, when it was valued at £140,000.

The ancient regalia of France were very valuable, and comprised some objects of the greatest interest. Among them was the crown of Charlemagne, which was of solid gold and was thickly

studded with precious stones ; also his sword, and the famous ampoule which contained the consecrated oil. This, according to legend, was brought down from heaven by a dove on the occasion of the baptism of Clovis in 496 A.D. "And behold," says Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, in his 'Life of St. Remi,' "a dove fairer than snow, suddenly brought down a vial in his mouth, full of holy oil. All present were delighted with the fragrance of it, and when the archbishop received it, the dove vanished." The crystal vial is said to have been about two inches high and about one inch in diameter at the bottom. It was kept in a golden shrine. The oil, we are solemnly told, never diminished in quantity, and through the succeeding thirteen centuries the kings were all anointed with it. During the Revolution, one Philip Ruhl, a deputy of the 'Convention, caused the Sainte Ampoule to be brought into the public square at Rheims, where, in the presence of the assembled people, he broke it to pieces with a hammer. At the coronation of Charles X. in 1825 some fragments were produced, and it was stated on sworn evidence that they had been picked up on this occasion and carefully preserved. They were accepted as genuine by the Archbishop of Rheims, were deposited in a new vial, which after the coronation was deposited, as the

THE CROWN JEWELS OF FRANCE 179

former one had been, in the tomb of St. Remi.

The Crown jewels used to be kept at the Church of St. Denys, near Paris, and were taken to Rheims before each coronation by the Prior, accompanied by a detachment of Gardes du Corps. An inventory of them was made in 1791, when they were valued at twenty-one millions of francs, and the number of diamonds included in the inventory amounted to nearly ten thousand. After the Revolution broke out they were removed from St. Denys and placed in the Garde-Meuble; but to the consternation of the authorities it was discovered one morning in 1792 that during the night thieves had broken into the Treasury and carried off the crown, the sceptre and other articles belonging to the regalia, and had got away without leaving any traces behind them. Every endeavour to track them proved unsuccessful. An anonymous letter was subsequently received in which it was stated that some of the lost objects might be found in a ditch in the Allée des Veuves in the Champs Elysées, and a search there, led to the recovery of the "Regent" diamond and one or two other treasures, which were practically of no use to the thieves. Altogether, about one thousand brilliants and rose diamonds alone, of various sizes and qualities, were carried off by the

thieves, as well as many other jewels. In Napoleon's time many of these were recovered. He took a great deal of trouble and spent large sums of money in purchasing any gems that could be proved to have formed part of the collection, and sent agents all over the Continent for that purpose. Napoleon is said to have been wearing a very fine diamond of thirty-four carats belonging to the Crown jewels on the day of the Battle of Waterloo, and to have lost it during the engagement. The Sanci diamond also disappeared from the Crown jewels, as did, too, the beautiful opal known as the "Burning of Troy," which was once the property of the Empress Josephine. In 1848 another great loss occurred. During the removal of the diamonds to the Treasury, a case was stolen which contained jewels to the value of three hundred thousand francs. When the Franco-Prussian War broke out, the whole of the Crown jewels were removed for greater security to a military sea-port. They formed one of the centres of attraction at the Exhibition of 1878, where they were shown in strong glass-cases in one of the buildings; enormous crowds of people flocked together to see them. This was their last public appearance. After much consideration and in spite of a great deal of opposition, the French Government decided in 1887 that these famous jewels should

be sold. They were put up to public auction in the month of May, and realised over seven million francs. The "Regent," the diamond sword-hilt made for Charles X., a watch studded with diamonds, originally intended for the Dey of Algiers, a triangle brooch of brilliants known as the Reliquary which was made in the fifteenth century, a magnificent ruby engraved with a chimera believed to be the largest engraved ruby in the world, and a few more of the most valuable of the jewels, were not included in the sale, but were sent either to the Louvre or to the Museum in the Ecole des Mines. There was some talk at one time of reserving the seven Mazarin diamonds, but they were ultimately sold with the other gems, and realised seven hundred and eighty thousand francs. Thus has this, one of the most famous collections of Crown jewels ever known in the history of the world, been dispersed.

The regalia of Russia is probably the most valuable in the world, and the Treasury contains a multitude of articles of surpassing interest. The crown and insignia of the various provinces which have from time to time been absorbed by the great Russian Empire are stored here, and a visit to the Treasury in the Kremlin illustrates the growth of the Empire during the last few centuries. The crowns of Kasan, of Western

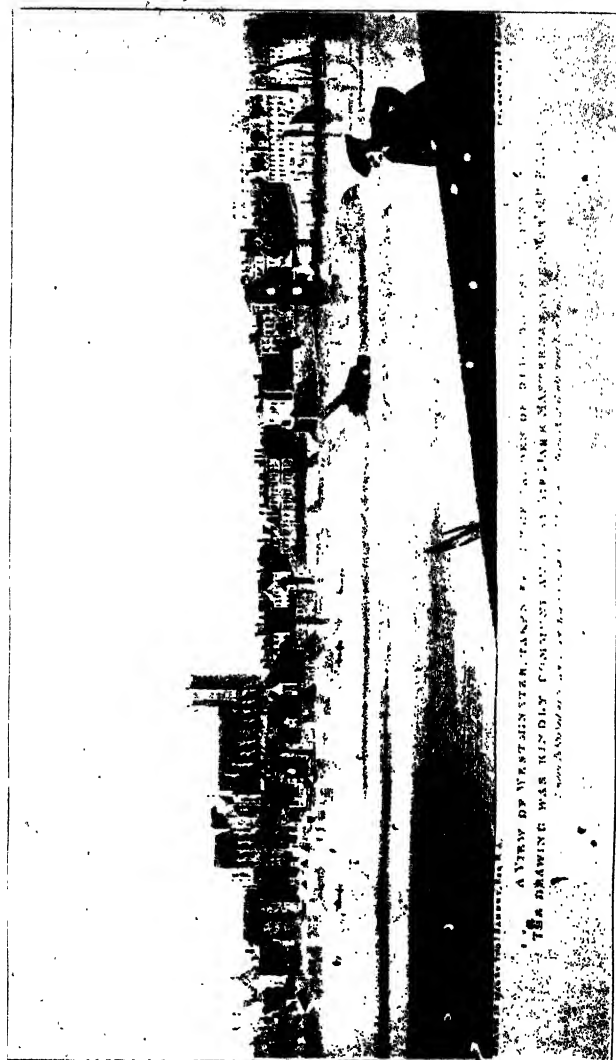
Siberia, and of Astrachan were acquired during the rule of Ivan the Terrible, the crown of the Crimea was added in 1703, the crown of Poland in the reign of the Empress Anne, and the crown of Finland in 1809. Most of these are dome-shaped, surmounted with a cross or a jewel, and are richly decorated with plates of gold and many precious stones in the Byzantine style, being bordered with velvet and in some cases with fur. The crown of Catherine I. contains two thousand five hundred and thirty-six diamonds besides other precious stones, amongst which are some which adorned the sceptre of Peter the Great; that of Peter the Great has eight hundred and forty-seven diamonds and a great ruby. The Treasury contains also the crown of Georgia, several sceptres and many rich crosses and chains of the highest value and of great historical interest. There are upwards of four hundred vases, many of them very ancient, and most of them mounted in gold and enriched with precious stones, and four wonderful thrones. One of these latter, which is really only a stool for it has no back, is so covered with gold sheets as to appear as if it were of massive gold; it is decorated with pearls and precious stones. The second chair, generally described as the Golden Throne, is in the shape of an arm-chair and is decorated

with fifteen hundred rubies, eight thousand turquoises, two large topazes, and four rare amethysts. A detailed description of these wonderful treasures grows wearisome by reason of the bewildering profusion of gems and the precious metals; we feel as if we had read of nothing to equal it since the happy days when we revelled in the wonders of Aladdin's cave.

The imperial crowns of the Tsar and the Tsaritsa are of great value. They somewhat resemble in shape the mitre of the Metropolitan, and are entirely encrusted with magnificent diamonds, the value of which it is difficult to estimate. On the summit of the Tsar's crown is a cross composed of five exceedingly fine diamonds, the centre being formed of a large uncut but polished ruby. A hoop outlining the central arch of the crown is composed of thirty-eight perfect pearls. The Tsaritsa's crown is a mass of brilliants, more than a hundred of exquisite brilliancy being blended with great artistic merit. Both these crowns are as beautiful in form and design as they are costly in the materials of which they are composed.

Mention must be made, however, of two famous stones contained in the regalia of Russia, the Orloff diamond and the one known as the Moon of Mountains. The first of these is in the imperial sceptre, immediately beneath the golden

eagle which is at the head of it. It is the largest diamond in Europe, weighing one hundred and ninety-three carats, but is second in beauty to the "Regent." Its history is interesting. It was formerly used to represent the eye of an idol in a Hindoo temple at Seringham, an island off the coast of southern India. A French grenadier, learning that there was a famous idol in this temple whose eyes were formed of two large diamonds of great value, deserted the service and assumed the character of a native devotee with such signal success that he secured the confidence of the Brahmins, and was given the charge of the shrine containing the idol. One stormy night he wrenched the diamond forming one of the eyes out of its position in the head of the image, and made his way through the raging tempest to Trichinopoly and thence to Madras, where he sold it to an English sea-captain, who carried it to London and there sold it to a Jew for £12,000. The Jew in his turn sold it to an Armenian who took it to Amsterdam. It happened that Prince Orloff chanced to come there at the same time. After having been in high favour with the Empress Catherine II. for many years, he had so offended her by his haughtiness and presumption, that she had banished him from Russia. He was shown the diamond, and purchased it for £90,000 in



A VIEW OF WESTMINSTER TANKS. THE VIEW TO THE RIGHT OF THE TANKS IS THE
THE DRAWING WAS KINDLY CONTRIBUTED BY SIR JAMES MAXWELL, BART., F.R.S.

cash besides procuring for the merchant an annuity of £4000, and presented it to the Empress, hoping to soften her feelings of resentment against him. The gem had been previously submitted to Catherine, who had declined it as being too expensive, and although she accepted it as a gift from Prince Orloff, she never forgave him or received him back into favour. The stone is valued now at £369,800.

The other famous diamond in the Russian regalia is the Moon of the Mountains, also an Indian stone, which was long in the possession of the Mogul emperors. It passed from them with a vast quantity of other treasure to Nadir Shah, King of Persia, and when he was murdered during a mutiny of his troops, it was stolen by an Afghan soldier who sold it to a Jew at Bagdad. An Armenian merchant, Shaffrass, resolved to acquire it, and he and two of his brothers murdered the Jew in order to gain possession of it, and then, fearing detection, they dispatched the Afghan soldier as well. They then quarrelled over the diamond, and finally Shaffrass murdered the other two and thus became sole possessor of it, which he ultimately sold to Catherine II. for 450,000 roubles and a grant of Russian nobility.

Of famous European crowns, perhaps the Iron Crown with which the kings of Lombardy were crowned is the most remarkable. It is

enclosed in a diadem of beaten gold covered with exquisite enamels and ornamented with twenty-two large stones of great value. Within it is the iron band said to have been made out of one of the nails used at the Crucifixion. The priests, who exhibit it at the Cathedral of Monza, aver that although it has been exposed for fifteen hundred years there is not a speck of rust upon the iron. It is one-tenth of an inch in thickness and so small, only six inches in diameter, that it can never have been intended to be worn in the ordinary way, but was apparently a suspensory or votive crown which was hung over the altar and employed temporarily at coronations, for placing on the sovereign's head as a symbol of royalty, and then returned to its place. The Empress Helena is said to have sent it to her son Constantine to protect him in battle, but all the alleged history of this crown requires confirmation; even the story of its being formed out of the nails of the Cross cannot be traced back further than the sixteenth century. Charles V. was the last of the later emperors crowned with it, and it was not brought out again until Napoleon's time. He sent for it to Milan and crowned himself with it with these words, "Dieu m'a donné; gare à qui la touche." It was received in Milan on this occasion with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. A salvo of artillery

was fired in its honour, and peals were rung from all the churches. Twenty-five men of Napoleon's Old Guard surrounded the vehicle which conveyed it to the Cathedral, and it was met at the doors by the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, who carried it through the church and deposited it on the high altar. The Guards mounted watch over it during the night. Seventy years later it was the centre of attraction in the imposing cortège which followed the carriage bearing the mortal remains of King Victor Emmanuel to the Pantheon at Rome. On this occasion, too, its journey through Italy was in the nature of a triumphal progress. It was escorted by the Corporation and Chapter of Monza and was received everywhere with the honours which are usually paid to royalty.

For thrilling adventures no crown in Europe can compete with the ancient crown of the Kingdom of Hungary—St. Stephen's crown. It is in reality a combination of two crowns, the ducal crown of Hungary and another presented to the first king of Hungary by Pope Sylvester II., and dates from the eleventh century. It was used at the coronations of twenty kings of the Arpad dynasty, and when Wenceslas went into exile he took it with him, but finally delivered it to Otho of Bavaria, who succeeded him. When Otho went to seek the daughter of the Duke of Transylvania in marriage, he carried

it with him^f concealed in a wooden box; unfortunately it was lost upon the way, and the fiery duke refused to sanction the marriage when he found it was not forthcoming, and even went so far as to imprison Otho. Subsequently the crown was recovered, and then Otho's troubles came to an end—for the time being at all events, and he was allowed to marry the duke's daughter. In 1439, when King Albert of Hungary died, his queen, Elizabeth, hid it for safety in her own chamber. Shortly after the death of her husband she gave birth to a son, who received the name of Ladislaus Posthumous, and who was crowned with this crown at the age of four months. The next year, an insurrection breaking out, the crown was once more in danger. The queen placed it in the little king's cradle, arranging the bedding carefully round it so that when a spoon was put into it, it had all the appearance of being the baby's saucepan. When all the preparations for the flight were made, the crown was delivered to one of the ladies of the Court, who sewed it up in a cushion and sat on it during a long drive in an open sledge across the frozen Danube.

On another occasion the crown was put in pawn. Once it was captured by the King of Bohemia, who used it at his own coronation and

kept it at Prague for a long time to the great sorrow of the Hungarians. It was afterwards kept at Pressburg for many years, until, in 1784, Joseph II. commanded it to be sent to Vienna; but six years later it went back to Pressburg amid an extraordinary outburst of joy on the part of the people at having it once more among them. In 1849 Kossuth compelled the keeper to give it up to him. The people demanded he should receive it bareheaded, and the keeper gave it into his hands, saying, "I hand you the holy crown with which fifty kings have been crowned during eight hundred years." Soon afterwards it suddenly disappeared, and no traces of it were to be found anywhere. A Government inquiry was held, but could discover nothing, and the popular belief was that angels had carried it away and concealed it in the tomb of one of the ancient kings. For four years the matter was a mystery, and then Kossuth began to fear that its hiding-place would be discovered, and in order to save it he arranged to bring it to London. But the secret leaked out, and the Austrian Government hearing of it, made further inquiries which resulted in its discovery. It was found hidden in a field near Orsova, and was conveyed to Vienna and subsequently deposited at Buda.

CHAPTER VII

THE KNIGHTS OF THE BATH

THE Order of the Bath as it was constituted by George I. bore but the faintest resemblance to the famous Order whose designation it borrowed. "Little of the original institution, except the most objectionable parts, was retained," says Nicolas; "that is to say, a name which was wholly inappropriate, a motto and ensigns that conveyed no obvious meaning, and inculcated no moral or patriotic duty, and ceremonies which were so inconsistent with the feelings of the age, that they were never even intended to be performed."* The original Order of the Bath was a survival of the later days of chivalry, but it had preserved some of the earliest and most characteristic features of ancient customs of knighthood, and the Order is also interesting in that the creations were for a long period of years a part of the festivities accompanying a coronation.

* *History of the Orders.*

The earliest English knight of whom there is any mention is Athelstan, grandson of King Alfred. In the annals of the times it is stated that he was knighted by his grandfather, and that part of the ceremony consisted in the investiture with a crimson robe and a Saxon sword.

Among the Saxons the ritual of investing a knight was a very elaborate one. On the eve of the day before his initiation the knight-elect was required to confess his sins to a priest and to receive absolution, and then to pass the whole night in prayer and meditation. In the morning he heard mass and offered his sword upon the altar. At the benediction the officiating priest dubbed him a knight by laying a sword, specially kept for the purpose, on his shoulder. He then partook of the Communion, and on rising was declared to be a "compleat knight." The privilege of the priesthood to dub knights is of very ancient origin, dating from early Saxon times.

The first full account of the installation of a knight by an English monarch comes from the time of Henry I., who summoned his son-in-law-elect, Geoffrey of Anjou, to Rouen in order to receive knighthood at his hands. Geoffrey, who was the ancestor of our Plantagenet kings, was only fifteen years of age at the time. An

old chronicler has described the scene for us and has given us a graphic account of the young knight's appearance, which must have been very fine. "Early next morning a bath was prepared according to custom when any person is to receive knighthood, and then, after bathing, he put on a linen shirt and over that a vestment embroidered with gold, and upon it a mantle of purple and scarlet with a pair of silken stockings and slippers with golden lions worked outside; a horse of the finest shape was prepared, and a coat of mail made of double rings and of such a temper as rendered it impenetrable to any lance; and his boots for his legs were likewise of mail duplicated in the same manner, and his spurs were made of gold; his shield charged with golden lions hung upon his neck; upon his head he wore a helmet adorned and enriched with many precious stones, which was also tempered in such a manner that no sword or any other instrument of war had force sufficient to pierce it; then was put into his hand a lance of ash armed at the point with iron of Poitiers. In the close of the ceremonial they delivered to him a sword which had long been in the king's armoury, in embellishing which, one Galen, the most famous engraver of that time, had discovered much art and used much industry. Our young knight being thus

armed as a good presage of his future gallantry, mounted his horse with great agility. To conclude, the day being peculiarly dedicated to the honour of his knighthood and to uninterrupted mirth, martial exercises and decorations of feasts and dress were the whole business and entertainment of it. The solemnity of the initiation of this knighthood continued successively for seven days."* This was the customary way of dubbing knights among the Saxons, but it did not commend itself at all to Henry's Norman knights, who declared that it was "a mean, degenerate, and ignoble creation."

The term knight originally meant an attendant, but the services required were generally of a military character. In the earliest forms of initiation the investiture with a military girdle was the essential feature of the ceremony. Then a sword and gilt spurs were added, and later a lance, a shield, and a gold ring. A knight had to provide himself with a fully caparisoned horse, and when the times became more luxurious and the taste grew for display and for brilliant pageants, each knight was expected to be attended by a numerous cavalcade of heralds, esquires, and pages, and it frequently happened at the investiture of a prince that, out of compliment to him, some of

* Translated by Anstis.

his attendants would receive the dignity at the same time, only men of noble birth, of course, being selected for the honour. In the fifteenth century a rich collar was added to the emblems of knighthood. At first these simply contained either the word "Souvenez" or the letter "s" several times repeated embroidered on them, but afterwards they came to be decorated with a succession of silver roses with a white lion.

To be dubbed a knight was an honour which could not be too highly valued. It was a distinction which even kings were eager to acquire, and we know that four of our English sovereigns, Edward III., Henry VI., Edward IV., and Henry VII., and also Louis XI. and Francis I. of France, were all so desirous of obtaining it that they allowed themselves to be invested by their own subjects. As an old historian quaintly puts it, "It conferreth gentility upon those meanly born and their descendants, and increaseth the honour of those well descended." Whatever might be lacking in a knight-elect in the matter of birth or estate the king was held to supply in the act of investiture, and that no doubts should prevail on this point, it was enacted by Common Law that a villein on being dubbed a knight was thereby enfranchised and ennobled, while a minor, by the same process, was declared to be

of age, and his minority and wardship held to be terminated.

The person of a knight was held in the greatest esteem, and he could invariably command respect and consideration from all with whom he came in contact, not only by reason of his valiant bearing of arms, but also in virtue of the vows he had taken upon himself. As the ceremonies at their installation were of a two-fold significance, of a courtly and military character in the investment with arms, spurs, and robes, and of a sacred nature in respect of their devotions in the church, so it was held not to be sufficient for them to be merely *sans peur*, but they were also required to be *sans reproche*. The oath which a knight took at his investiture was "to do good and faithful Service to the State; never to fly in Battel, and always to prefer the Publick Good to the Safety and Preservation of his own life." * Further, by the action of offering his sword upon the altar and receiving it again upon his knees from the priest, he declared himself to be a true and faithful son of the Church. He was bounden, therefore, "to temper the severity and justice of war by a modesty, sweetness, and politeness which the term courtesy perfectly expresses, and of which no other laws contain injunctions so formal as those of

* Anstis.

chivalry." Nor was there any other law in that rude age which insisted with greater force than did the laws of chivalry on the necessity of inviolably keeping one's word, or which inspired so much detestation for lying and falsehood, or which laid stronger command on the injunction to defend the weak and to punish injustice. To be a fearless and blameless knight was the ideal of manhood in those wild, stormy times. "As I am a true knight," was the most solemn declaration of good faith that could be required of any one, and when the Commons in Edward III.'s reign wished to express their appreciation of his son, Edmund, Duke of York, they could find no happier terms of compliment than that "he was a loyal and a valiant knight."

The dignity of knighthood could only be conferred by the sovereign or by some one deputed by him to any high office, such as the lieutenants or commanders of armies, who acted as his representatives, and in a few cases by persons of exalted birth or station. There are one or two instances of knights being dubbed by Knights Bachelors, but they are very rare. It was a dignity, too, which was not hereditary. No one was ever born a knight. There was a small privileged class who by virtue of their birth were entitled to receive knighthood from the sovereign, but they were never constituted

knights until they had been formally installed and had taken the vows upon them. It was necessary for them to prove three paternal descents before they could establish their claim. No one was eligible whose arms had not been borne by his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. In this respect, however, the laws of chivalry were far less strictly observed in England than they were in other countries. Many instances might be quoted of persons of obscure origin or even of illegitimate birth who received the honour of knighthood.

In later days a second qualification was that of property. The possession of a knight's fee, or of lands yielding an equivalent sum, carried with it the right to be dubbed a knight. It was in the power of the sovereign to call upon all those with the necessary qualifications to come forward and receive knighthood at his hands, and in cases of default a fine of exemption was imposed. This was eventually a source of considerable income to the monarch and often of severe oppression to the subject. The third qualification was for services rendered, and as it was required that every knight should be possessed of sufficient property to support in a suitable manner the dignity of his new position, the bestowal of the dignity was sometimes accompanied by the grant of a pension or of.

lands. This was especially the case in knight-hoods conferred on a field of battle for conspicuous feats of arms during the engagement. On these occasions the proceedings were necessarily short. The candidate received, kneeling, a blow on the shoulder from the sword of the personage who was conferring the dignity. The words accompanying the action were either "Avancez Chevalier, au nom de Dieu," or "Au nom de Dieu et de Saint-Michael et de Saint-Georges, je te fais Chevalier," to which was sometimes added the exhortation, "Soyez preux, hardi, et loyal." Knights thus created were variously called Knights Bachelor's of the Spur, Knights Milites, and Chivalets.

New knights were frequently created at the commencement of a campaign, when, as the event would take place with the bustle of the military preparations going on on all sides, the occasion would be one of the greatest enthusiasm. An old chronicler has left on record an account of the wonderful scenes which were enacted one fair spring day in May 1306, when the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward II., was dubbed a knight previous to accompanying his royal father, who was on the point of marching at the head of his army to invade Scotland. "The king, to render his

expedition more splendid and numerous, caused proclamations to be made throughout England, that all persons who were entitled to take knighthood by hereditary descent or by the possession of lands to repair to Westminster at the feast of Pentecost, where every one of them should receive severally out of the king's wardrobe at his expence all things belonging to his habit, except what related to the furniture of his horse. At the time and place appointed there were 300 young gentlemen, sons of earls, barons, and knights, to whom was distributed in ample measure, according to their different qualities, purple, fine linnen, furs, and mantles embroidered with gold, and because the royal palace, though spacious, was not of extent sufficient to accommodate so great a number, they repaired to the New Temple, where they erected tents and pavilions, having previously cut down the trees in the orchard and levelled the walls of it, that they might separately and more commodiously dress themselves in their splendid habits. That night so many of them performed their vigils as the place would contain; but the Prince of Wales, by command of the King his father, kept his vigils in the church at Westminster, with some other persons of the first dignity. There the noise of trumpets and of pipes was so great, and the acclamations of the

people so loud and so extended, that the voices in one crowd could not be heard distinctly in another. On the day following the king invested his son with the military belt, and assigned to him the duchy of Aquitaine. The prince being knighted went to the church at Westminster, and that he might confer the like honour on his companions: there the press occasioned by a promiscuous concourse of people was so great before the high altar that two knights were stifled and several fainted away, for each knight had at least three other knights to conduct and support him. But the prince was obliged by reason of the tumultuous crowd to invest his companions upon the high altar, having by his guards made way for them to pass through the people. Then were brought and presented two swans, introduced with much pomp and covered with golden nets, adorned and embossed with golden studs: a solemnity highly grateful to the spectators." * It was a very common custom in those days to swear an oath to fulfil some military engagement on the oblation of a bird. It must have been a most picturesque ceremony, and it was held in high esteem, as it was generally considered that an oath thus taken was rendered more than usually binding. In this instance the king advanced to the altar,

and in a loud voice, with a clear and distinct utterance, so that every word could be heard by all present, took a solemn vow to God upon these swans that he would make a descent upon Scotland with the full intention, whether he lived or died, to avenge the death of John Comyn and the violated faith of the Scots. This ended the proceedings in the church. The rest of the day was spent in tilting matches, military exercises, and feasting. Brilliant spectacles they must have been, and the cavalcades of knights in armour on their gaily caparisoned horses, each with an attendant train of esquires and pages, must have made a brave show, and it is not to be wondered at that the pageants of chivalry held so strong a place in the affections of the people, or that the desire to excel in knightly feats of arms caused such a spirit of emulation among the youth of the times.

It follows, of course, that as the dignity of knighthood was held in such great repute, so the penalty paid when a knight had proved himself unworthy of his high estate was correspondingly heavy. To lose one's knighthood, and to be degraded as not being a fit person to bear arms as a knight or to associate on equal terms as companions in arms with other knights, was the greatest dishonour that could possibly befall any one of rank or position. A knight

incurring this disgrace became a social outcast. The degradation ceremony was performed in public, and must have been a terrible ordeal for the guilty person. The Earl Marshal presided over the proceedings, which generally took place in Westminster Hall. First the sentence degrading the knight was read by a 'pursuivant-at-arms. It was to the effect that the said knight should be degraded from his knighthood, but in some cases a clause was inserted that this was not to be to the detriment of his wife or of his children. The knight's spurs were hacked off his heels, his armour taken off and solemnly broken, his sword taken from his side and broken in half above his head, and the pieces thrown away. Then amid a deep and impressive silence the heralds proclaimed in a loud voice that the said knight standing there was no longer a knight but a knave. A curious old manuscript of the time of Henry III. contains an illustration which represents a knight in disgrace. His sword and the staff of his banner are seen broken, and his shield lies on the ground in two pieces. Above is an escutcheon bearing his arms reversed.

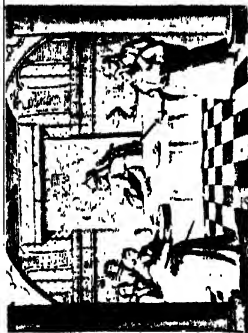
In the reign of Edward III. the glories of chivalry rose to their greatest heights. The success of her arms in France had placed England in a new position. For the first time in the

annals of her history England had become a military power of sufficient importance to be henceforth taken into account in European politics. The King of France was for many years a prisoner in London, as were also a large number of princes and nobles, the flower of French chivalry. A like fate also befell the King of Scotland and a long train of his nobles. Those were merry days for the citizens of London, who beheld one long cavalcade of illustrious prisoners after the other pass in brilliant succession through their narrow winding streets on their way to the Savoy and other residences assigned to them, where they waited until the terms of their ransoms were arranged. That this success was not permanent, and that by the end of the king's reign the advantages thus gained were lost again, does not for the moment signify. In the brief period of its supremacy the nation was intoxicated with joy, and when the king, in the early days of his victories, declared his intention of founding a new Order of Knighthood after the fashion of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, the proposal was received with a frenzy of delight, and knights from all parts of the kingdom and even from foreign countries (though not from France) came forward with enthusiasm to enrol themselves in the new order. Out of this grew the

Order of the Garter, to be made a member of which is still regarded as the highest distinction which it is within the power of the sovereign to confer on a subject.

On the accession of the next king, Richard II., we hear of a body of knights who were created on the occasion of the king's coronation, and of whom it is expressly stated that they were solemnly bathed before the actual ceremony of investiture took place. This is apparently the first mention of a new Order of Knighthood, but as they were enrolled in time of peace they had not at first any special designation. The same observance was repeated at the coronation of Henry IV., unusual prominence being given to the fact that before he and his knights were invested they were formally bathed with great ceremony. Forty-six new knights were created on this occasion. The investiture took place in the Tower, and they rode in the king's procession through the streets of London to Westminster, and we are further told that at the banquet which took place in Westminster Hall after the coronation a table was specially reserved for them. The king presented them with long green coats having straight sleeves lined with minever "after the manner of prelates," they wore also on their shoulders a double cord of white silk, with white tufts hanging

INITIATION OF A KNIGHT OF THE BATH.



1. Arrival at Court.

2. In attendance on the King.

3. The Knight is conducted to his Chamber.

4. The Bath.

5. The Knight is placed in Bed.

6. The Procession to the Chapel.

down. The procession through London was very imposing, no less than six thousand persons taking part in it. King Henry was uncomfortably aware of the fact that his hold on the crown was not very secure, and it is therefore possible that he sought to dazzle the eyes of his subjects by the magnificence of his coronation, and by a lavish display to distract their attention from the subject of the weakness of his title. The foundation of the Order of the Bath is generally attributed to him, as the Knights of the Bath are first mentioned by name in the annals of his reign. Perhaps it was another bid for popularity on his part. He had seen how favourably the foundation of the Order of the Garter had been received by the people, and he possibly conceived the idea of forming these new knights, created in time of peace, into a regular Order and under a special designation. From this time forth until the reign of Charles II. an investiture of the Knights of the Bath invariably formed part of the coronation festivities when any new sovereign mounted the throne.

The initiation ceremony was very long and elaborate. When an esquire came to Court to receive this order of knighthood he was formally received by the officers of the Court, and then two Esquires of Honour, "grave and well seen in courtship and nurture, as also in the feats of

chivalrie," were assigned to him as his attendants for the order of the ceremony. If he arrived before dinner, he handed one dish of the first course to the king in token of the fact that he was giving up his position as esquire; afterwards he was conducted by his attendants to the chamber which had been prepared for him; and he was not seen again that day. In the evening the barber arrived. The squire's beard was cut and his head rounded while the attendants made ready a bath handsomely hung with linen both within and without, and covered with tapestry and blankets "in respect of the coldness of the night." Then a sound of singing and music would be heard in the distance, but coming nearer, and certain veteran knights, "most gentile and grave," escorted by minstrels, would arrive to instruct him touching the order and feats of chivalry. On hearing them approach the attendants undressed the knight and placed him naked in the bath, and this being done, "the grave knights entered into the chamber without making any noise, and going to the bath and kneeling down before it said with a soft voice, 'Sir! Be this bath of great honour to you,'" and they then proceeded to instruct and counsel him at great length. When they had finished they retired, but before leaving each knight would pour water with his hand upon the shoulder of the knight-

elect. After they had quitted the chamber the attendants took the squire out of the bath and put him into the bed, which was quite plain and without hangings. As soon as he was dry he was taken out of bed again and dressed in warm garments, and over all was put on him "a robe of russet with long sleives having a hood thereto like unto that of a hermite." Then the door was opened and he was conducted by the "antient and grave knights," and by the squires "sporting and dancing, with the minstrells making melodie, to the chappell." On arrival here wine and spices were served to the knights, after which the squire was left alone to keep the vigil, "bestowing himself in orisons and prayers, beseeching Almighty God and His blessed Mother that of their good grace they will give him abilitie to receive this high temporall dignitie to the honour, praise, and service of them as also of Holy Church and the Order of Knighthood." At daybreak he confessed to the priest and then heard matins or mass. He was then conducted back to his chamber and put in bed to rest; the bed was covered with a fine covering of cloth of gold, which was afterwards the perquisite of the king's servants. At the proper time he was awakened by the same ancient and grave knights, escorted, as before, by minstrels singing and dancing. "They say unto the squire, 'Sir! good-morrow to you. It

is time to get up and to make yourself ready ;' and thereupon they shall take him by the arme to be dressed, the most antient of the said knights reaching him his shirt, another giving him his breeches, the third his doublet, and another putting upon him a kertle of red tartarin ; two other shall raise him from the bed ; and two other put on his black stockings with soles of leather sewn to them ; two other shall lace his sleives, and another shall gird him with a girdle of white leather without any buckles thereon ; another shall comb his head, another shall put on his coife, another shall give him his mantle of silk tyed with lace of white silk, with a pair of white gloyes hanging at the end of the lace." When he was fully dressed he and the knights mounted on horseback, and attended by squires and minstrels, proceeded to the great hall to await the king. The knight-elect was mounted on a horse with black leather trappings, the bow of the saddle being of white wood quartered. His sword and spurs were borne before him by a squire. On coming into the king's presence these last were handed to the king, who gave the spurs to the knights, who fastened them on to the squire's heels with much ceremony. The king girded the squire with the sword, and putting his own arms about the squire's neck said unto him, " Be thou a good knight," after which he kissed him. Then

they all repaired to the banquet. On his way thither the procession was stopped by the king's cook, dressed in white, "bearing a great knife with which he dressed his messes," who struck at his spurs, saying, "I am the King's Master Cook, I am come to receive your spurs for my fee; if you do anything contrary to the Order of Knighthood (which God forbid) I shall hack your spurs from your heels." The new knight sat at the knights' table and was served like anybody else, but etiquette required that he should neither eat nor drink anything. After the king had withdrawn he was conducted with the same state to his own chamber, where he took leave of the knights and minstrels, and then assumed the ordinary clothing of the Order. This was a blue robe with straight sleeves. On the left shoulder hung a lace of white silk which he was to wear from that day forward until he had gained some honour and renown by his arms, when some great prince or most noble lady would cut it off, saying, "Sir! We have heard so much of the true renown concerning your honour which you have done in divers parts to the great fame of chivalrie and to yourself, and of him that made you a knight, that it is meet this lace be taken from you." *

All these ceremonies were the result of much

*.Anstis, *Historical Essay*. Nicolas, *History of the Orders*.

care and consideration, and no part of the ritual had been hurriedly instituted. Every act had its own symbolic significance. The bathing represented the purgation of the person bathed from sin, as a person by baptism is sanctified by a principle of inward and spiritual grace. The placing in a new bed denoted the perfect and sedate composure of mind with which a course of virtuous achievements, in his new military state, was to be finally rewarded. The crimson robes with their white satin lining reminded him that in his military capacity he might be required to shed his blood for the service of the Christian religion or for the Church, but that he must maintain his honour immaculate and unstained. The *chaussees sernelles*, or the black stockings soled with leather, were symbolical of humility, reminding him of his mortal path, the earth out of which his body came and into which it must again be resolved. The spurs denoted his military ardour and activity in warlike adventures, and his prompt obedience to those in authority over him. The white girdle or belt signified chastity; the sword was a token of his hostility to the devil, his resolution to defend religion, and to undertake the defence of the weak against the strong. The white coif or hat typified his indispensable obligation to perform good and commendable works, and the blow on the neck was

SOME SCENES ILLUSTRATING THE INITIATION OF A
KNIGHT OF THE BATH.



18. The Procession meets the King's Cook.

19. The Banquet.

22. The Knight gives presents to his Attendants.

23. The Pace is removed from the Knight's shoulder.

meant as a reminder not to be insensible to any real affront or indignity, but to guard his honour jealously.

The spurs of a Knight of the Bath were always carried at his funeral, and on their monuments it was the custom to make the sign of the cross on the knees of their effigies, inasmuch as the sign of the cross was invariably made on their knees by the sovereign during their investiture.

A good deal was expected from a knight on his investiture in the matter of fees, and if he happened to be a poor man he must have felt the expense to be somewhat heavy. The Chamberlain received all the garments in which he arrived at the king's palace and also those he wore during his vigil. The bath, the twenty-four ells of linen draped round it, the red worsted carpet, and a fee,—forty shillings for a baron, a hundred shillings for an earl, and ten pounds for a duke,—all went to the barber. This functionary, by the way, was the Serjeant of Ewery, who used also to follow the calling of barber at the gate of the king's palace. The rich bed in which the knight reposed after his vigil with its coverlet of cloth of gold became the property of the king's servants. The cook took his spurs; and to the heralds, king-at-arms, and the minstrels were given the robes he wore during his investiture.

At the accession of Henry V. the royal procession from the Tower to Westminster was an exceedingly imposing one, and the new Knights of the Bath made such a splendid appearance that one of the chroniclers states that at the sight of them the spectators in the streets were nearly "inebriated with joy." They are mentioned at the coronation of Henry VI. as riding before the king in the procession, wearing furred hoods and minever. After the king had been crowned they immediately preceded him on his way to Westminster Hall, arrayed in brave scarlet. Edward IV. created thirty-two new Knights of the Bath at his coronation; they rode before him in the procession from the Tower, wearing blue gowns, with hoods and tokens of white silk upon their shoulders. "All noble men," the historian adds. At the coronation of Henry VIII. and Katherine of Arragon twenty-four Knights of the Bath were created. The king created nineteen more when Anne Boleyn was crowned, and they rode in her procession through the city in "violet gownes with hoodes puffed with minever like doctors," and at the coronation banquet we hear of them bringing in the first course, "which was eight and twentie dishes, besides subtleties, and shippes made of ware, marveyulous gorgeous to beholde; all which time

of service the trumpets, standing in the window at the nether end of the hall, played." *• Edward VI.'s coronation took place within a month of his father's death. The shortness of the interval did not allow much time for any great preparations, and so it was decided "that there should be made a certain number of knights instead of the Bath, because the time was so short that they could not be made of the Bath according to the ceremonies thereunto apperteyning."† • Queen Mary was the first female sovereign who had reigned in England, and when she came to the throne a difficulty arose about the creation of the Knights of the Bath, but finally the Earl of Arundel, acting by the queen's commission, presided at the inauguration and dubbed the knights as the queen's representative. Under the Stuarts the number of the members of the Order was greatly increased. James I. created sixty-two at his coronation, on which occasion we are told that having performed the necessary solemnities, they rode "honourably" from St. James's to the Court and made a fine show with their squires and pages in the tilt yard, the site of which is now the Horse Guards. Then they went into St. James's Park, and "there lighted all from their horses and went up to the king's presence in the gallery, where they received the

* Hollinshed.

† Arctia.

knighthood." * This was on Sunday, July 24, 1603. The style of the English Court seems to have pleased James I., who possibly found it very lively and gay after life in the Scottish capital, and he apparently took special delight in holding investitures. He held another of the Knights of the Bath two years later, when his second son, Prince Charles, who was only four years of age, and eleven other knights were installed. A contemporary account of this event states that, "On Twelfth Night we had the creation of Duke Charles, now Duke of York. The interim was entertained with making Knights of the Bath, which is three daies' work. They were eleven in number besides the little duke, all of the king's selection." † They were lodged at the King's Gatehouse. At supper they all sat "by degrees, a row on one side with their arms, every one of them placed over the seate where he was placed ; and they were lodged on several pallets in one chamber, with their arms likewise over them, having their bathes provided for them in the chamber underneath. The next morning they went about through the gallery and down into the Park in their hermits' weedes, the musicians playing and the heralds going before them into the Court, and so into the Chapel, and then after solemn courtesies, like

* Nichols, *Progresses*.

† *Ibid.*

to the Knights of the Garter, first to the Altar and then to the Cloath of Estate, every one took his place in the stalls of the Quier." * The little duke, who was four years of age, was not able to walk, and had to be carried. Five years afterwards James indulged his fancy for another investiture, which was held at Durham House in the Strand. The occasion was the creation of his eldest son, Prince Henry, Prince of Wales, and in honour of the event twenty-six knights were installed. They supped at one table the night before their installation, all sitting on the same side of the table, every man having an escutcheon of his arms over his head. After the repast "the tables were removed and severall beds made ready for their lodging, in the same place, after the same manner, all on one side, and each as tofore, right under the scutcheon of his own armes. Their beds were pallets with coverings, testers or canopies of red say, but they used no curtaines. The Knights in the meanwhile were withdrawne into the Bathing Chamber, which was the next roome to that they supped in, where for each of them were provided a severall bathing tub, which was lined both within and without with white linnen, and covered with red say (a ticket of every man's name set upon his tub very orderly). After

* Walcott (Stowe).

216 THE KNIGHTS OF THE BATH

the bath they betooke themselves to their rest." * The installation the next day was a very magnificent affair indeed.

On the death of Prince Henry, the king's second son, Charles, Duke of York, was created Prince of Wales, to celebrate which event another investiture was held, when twenty-seven young noblemen were enrolled as Knights of the Bath. On his accession to the throne nine years later, Charles I. created fifty-nine new Knights of the Order, twenty-eight of whom were sons and many of them heirs-apparent of peers. The last occasion on which an investiture took place, according to the ancient usages and ritual of the Order, was at the coronation of Charles II. John Evelyn in his Diary mentions that he went to see the new knights bathed preparatory to their investiture. After this time no more installations took place, and so in process of time the Order became extinct.

Soon after George I. came to the throne it was decided to revive it, and to transform it into a Military Order of Merit, so as to provide a means of rewarding services rendered to the State. The new Order was to consist of the sovereign, of a prince of the blood royal, of a great master, and thirty-five companions. The

* Nichols, *Progresses*.

officers of the Order were to be the dean, who was to be the Dean of Westminster for the time being, a registrar, a king-of-arms, a genealogist, a secretary, an usher, and a messenger. The Prince's Chamber at the Palace of Westminster was to be the Chapter House of the Order, and the religious ceremonies were to be performed in Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster Abbey. The ancient ceremonies of installation were to be continued, excepting where a dispensation was granted, and the candidates for admission to the Order were to be gentlemen of blood, bearing coat arms, and void of all reproach, that is to say, they must not have been convicted of heresy against the Church, nor attainted of high treason, nor such as from cowardice had fled from any field of battle. In the event of any member of the Order being found guilty under any of these three headings, he was to be sentenced at the next Chapter to be degraded, his escutcheon was to be thrown out of his stall with all the usual marks of infamy, and a record of the transaction to be entered in the register. The seal of the Order had the king on horseback in armour, the shield azure, and three imperial crowns, the arms usually ascribed to King Arthur of Round Table fame, together with the motto, *Sigillum Honoratissimi Ordinis Militaries de Baleno*, and on the reverse the same arms impaling the royal

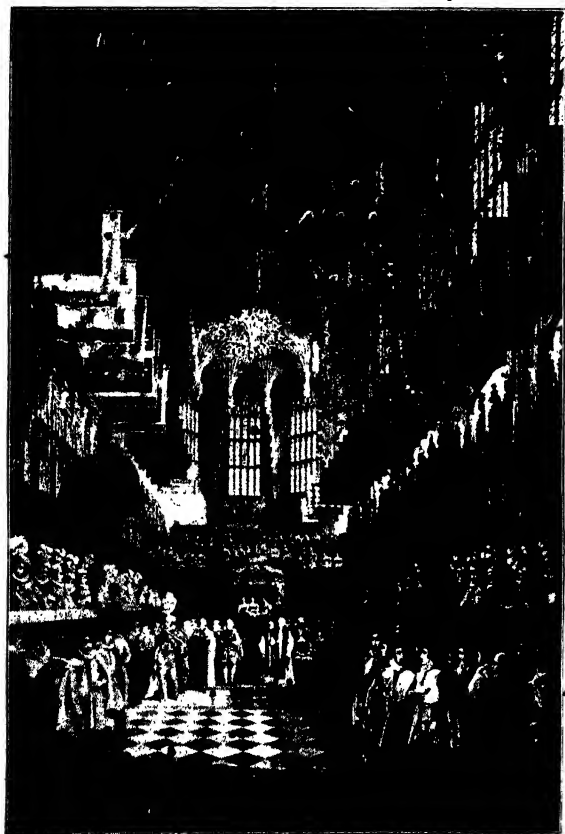
arms. The ensign or badge of the Order was to be three imperial crowns placcd within the motto of the Order, *Tria Juncta in Uno*, which, pendant to a red ribband, was to be worn obliquely over the right shoulder to the left side ; it was also to be embroidered on the left side of the vest with rays of silver, or glory, issuing from the centre. The escutcheon of every knight was to be placed on the back of his stall in Henry VII's Chapel, and under it his name and title.

The first investiture of the Order as thus reorganised took place on June 17, 1725. The prince of the blood was the king's grandson, Prince William, who afterwards as Duke of Cumberland commanded the English troops at Culloden. As he was only four years of age at this time, a dispensation was granted to absolve him from undergoing the initiation ceremony. The other knights, thirty-five in number, were bathed the previous evening in the Prince's Chamber, and spent the vigil in the Chapel of Henry VII. On the morning of June 17 they robed in the Prince's Chamber, and marched in procession to the west door of the Abbey through a passage roofed in and railed and carpeted. On arrival at the Chapel they took their places under their respective banners, the officers of the Order standing before the bench at the foot of the sovereign's stall and the Dean before

his chair. The Great Master entered singly and retired under his banner. When they were all in their places the little prince entered, wearing his mantle and collar, and mounted to his stall, where he sat covered, after which the knights seated themselves in their stalls. The esquires made their reverences in a body and retired to their seats, and the heralds, the provincial kings-of-arms, and the pursuivants, took up their allotted positions, and the installation ceremony began. This consisted in each knight taking the oath from the Dean, upon which he received the collar of the Order from the Great Master, who placed it about his neck, embraced him, and placed the white hat with the plumes upon his head. Then followed divine service, conducted by the Dean, during which the knights placed their hats on the cushions before them. At its conclusion they advanced in turn to the altar, and unsheathing their swords, delivered them to the Dean, redeeming them afterwards with a price, and taking them again from the hand of the Dean, who charged them to use their swords to the glory of God, the defence of the Gospel, the maintenance of the sovereign's right and honour, and of all equity and justice. The procession then re-formed and returned to the Chapter House. At the west door of the Abbey was stationed the king's cook, according to

ancient custom; he wore a linen apron and held a chopping knife in his hand, and said to each knight as he passed, "Sir, you know what a great oath you have taken, which if you keep it will be great honour to you; but if you break it, I shall be compelled by my office to hack off your spurs from your heels." At the banquet which followed, the knights and officers of the Order dined in the Court of Requests, the prebendaries in the Jerusalem Chamber, and the esquires in the Painted Chamber; at the second course the style of all the knights was proclaimed in turn by the Bath King-of-Arms. In the evening the knights and their esquires attended a magnificent ball and supper at the Opera House, at which some seven hundred persons were present.

By a later statute of George I. it was decreed that in the event of a foreign invasion, or a rebellion at home, each Knight of the Bath should be bound to furnish and maintain four men-at-arms for any term that might be commanded by the king, but which was not to exceed forty-two days, at the expiration of which limit of time, should they still be continued in service, they were to be considered as part of the regular forces of the country. This corps was to be under the command of the Great Master, or of some deputy whom he might appoint in case of disablement by illness.



INSTALLATION OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE BATH IN HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL.
WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Installations conducted on these lines continued at varying intervals until 1812, since which time they have ceased, the ceremony of investiture being now a very short and simple one. The knight-elect kneels at the sovereign's feet and is knighted; he kisses the sovereign's hand, and is invested with the ribband and badge. Several instances have even occurred of vacant ribbands being conferred on distinguished servants of the Crown who were abroad, in which case the investiture was held by either a foreign prince or by the king's representative in the place where the knight-elect was stationed. In this way, investitures of a Knight of the Bath have been held at different times by the King of Naples, the Grand Duke of Florence, the King of Sardinia, the Empress of Russia, the King of Sweden, the Nabob Waulanjan, Subah of the Carnatic, at the Durbar near Madras, the Nabob of Arcot, and by English representatives of the king in many parts of the world. "The selection of a Mahomedan prince to invest a Christian knight with the ensigns of an Order of Chivalry," says Nicolas, "is only one of the many anomalies with which the history of the Order of the Bath abounds, but it was a sacrifice of propriety to political considerations of which no similar instance could be found in the annals of any other Order in Europe."

After the Peninsular Campaign and the Battle of Waterloo the number of distinguished men whose services required recognition on the part of the sovereign was so great, that in order to meet the demand it was decided to once more reorganise this Order and to greatly increase the number of the members. It was then established on the lines on which, generally speaking, it is now conducted. Three classes were instituted: the first class, consisting of the Knights Grand Cross, who were divided into military and civil knights; the second class, the members of which were to be called Knights Commanders; and the third class consisting of the Companions of the Order. Some slight modifications have been made, but no great changes have been effected, and the regulations of the Order have remained practically the same down to our own day.

In the recent history of the Order only three cases have occurred in which members have been degraded. The first was the case of Lord Cochrane, who was sentenced by the Chapter in 1814, charges of fraud having been brought against him. His achievements and plate were moved from his stall, and his banner ignominiously kicked down the steps of the Chapel. It was restored to his family after his death, and the banner was returned to its former position above its stall on the day of his funeral by

order of Queen Victoria, the Herald of the Order carrying out the command in person. Two years later Sir Eyre Coote was expelled, and in the reign of George IV. the name of one Captain Hanchett of the Royal Navy, who had been struck off the list of captains of the Navy, was erased from the roll of the Order. •

CHAPTER VIII

SOME MEMORABLE CORONATIONS—THE CORONATION OF THE POPES OF ROME

THE coronation of the kings of France was in many respects very similar to that of the English kings—in fact, it is sometimes stated that the order of the coronation service of early French kings was based on that in vogue among the Anglo-Saxons. The ceremony of recognition, however, never took place in France, and as the religion of the country never changed, fewer alterations and modifications in the ritual took place, and it was preserved to the end almost in its original form. The kings of France, from Hugh Capet to Charles X., were mostly installed in the Cathedral at Rheims, and it is further remarkable that all the kings who were crowned there were, without exception, Frenchmen by birth. Henry VI. of England was crowned King of France at Paris, Henry IV. of France at Chartres, and Napoleon at Paris. Some of the earlier kings were inaugurated at St. Denys,

near Paris, or at Soissons ; a few were crowned in the Church of Notre-Dame at Paris. The queens were never crowned with their consorts at Rheims ; their coronations taking place at St. Denys. The last queen of France who was ever crowned was Mary de Medicis, the wife of Henry IV.

. Rheims being the scene of their enthronement, the kings were all obliged to make a State progress there from Paris for their coronation, which gave their subjects an opportunity of seeing them. They were received in every town through which they passed with the greatest joy, and brilliant festivities were organised in their honour. They arrived at Rheims generally two or three days before the one fixed for the ceremony. The town was always superbly decorated in honour of the occasion, the fronts of the houses were hung with tapestry, triumphal arches were erected, and everything wore a holiday appearance. The king passed through the streets under a rich canopy, and after hearing a solemn mass took up his residence in the Archbishopal Palace. The Cathedral was hung with tapestries preserved for such occasions, valuable carpets were spread on the floors, and balconies and galleries erected for the accommodation of the spectators. The regalia were brought under strong escort from St. Denys, where they were usually kept ;

the Sainte Ampoule was carried in state, on the morning of the installation, from the neighbouring Abbey of St. Rémi. After the long ceremony was over, the coronation feast was held in the great Hall in the Archbishop's Palace.

Probably no coronation has ever been as memorable as that of Charles VII. of France. But three months before the French cause had appeared hopeless; the ascendancy of the English was greater than ever, the Burgundians were their powerful allies, and the king and his advisers had shown themselves to be utterly incapable of coping with the situation. Then Joan of Arc had appeared upon the scene, and as if by magic the tide of fortune had turned, and with a swiftness which amazed even the victorious side. After the relief of Orleans, Joan declared that the greater part of her mission was now accomplished, but that in order to consummate it the coronation of the king must be proceeded with forthwith. To the timid representations of the French commanders that the hundred and fifty miles of country between them and Rheims was hostile to the king, that there were three deep rivers to cross, and that Rheims itself was in the hands of the Burgundians, she turned a deaf ear; and so persistently did she maintain her opinion, that she finally gained her point, and

with ten thousand cavalry Charles set out for Rheims. Troyes opened its gates to him after four days; Chalons received him with delight, the inhabitants spontaneously sending him the keys of the city. When the wonderful news reached Rheims, the people rose in his favour, and the very day before his arrival the Burgundian garrison was expelled. On Saturday, July 18, 1429, Charles made his entry into the town. Never had there been a coronation fraught with greater importance to the interests of the country, and yet never had a king of France entered Rheims for the purpose of being crowned under such sorry circumstances. No preparations had been made to welcome him, no triumphal arches erected nor pageants prepared. In the place of a splendid train of courtiers, ambassadors, and nobles, there was an army which resembled a disorderly rabble in appearance more than anything else, many of the troops being only half armed, and some of them even wearing the peasants' dress in which they had left their work in the fields to go and join the king's forces. At their head rode Charles surrounded by his commanders and his suite, Joan of Arc being conspicuous among them. He made his way to the Archbishop's Palace, where he was to stay.

All night long, preparations were in progress

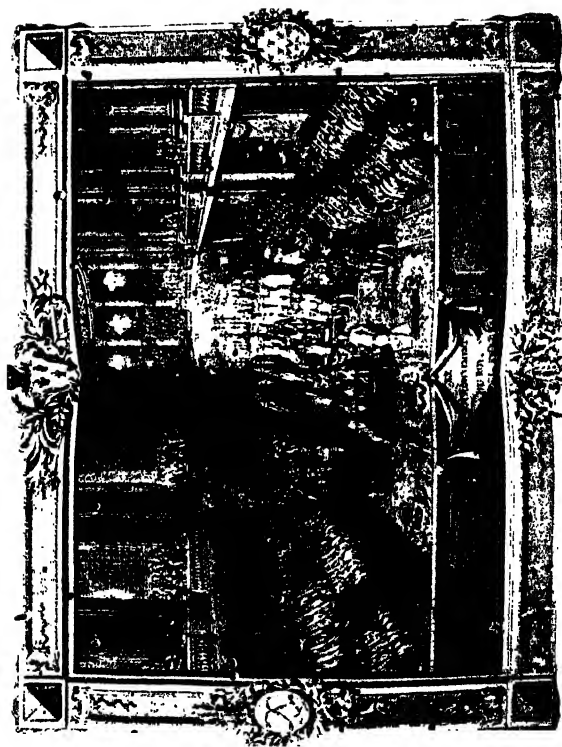
for the installation of the morrow. The regalia being at St. Denys and not available, the treasures of the Cathedral were brought into requisition to supply all that was lacking, and hurried attempts were made at decorating the church. The order of the ceremonial had to be hastily arranged; for as none of the great peers of France would be present, proxies had to be chosen from the members of the king's suite to perform their offices. The population were astir soon after dawn. At five o'clock the great portals of the Archbishop's Palace opened, and there issued forth four knights, representing the Barons of the Sainte Ampoule, preceded by squires bearing their arms, and leading a white horse richly adorned. Passing slowly through the streets, already thronged by an expectant crowd, they wended their way to the ancient Abbey of St. Rémi, where was preserved the holy vial containing the consecrated oil which had been miraculously sent down from heaven on the occasion of the baptism of Clovis nine hundred years before. It was guarded with the most jealous care by the monks, and was not given up even now in response to the king's command until the knights had sworn a solemn oath on the Gospels to be personally responsible for its safety, to guard it with their lives during the day, and not to lose sight of it for a single

instant until it was returned to its appointed guardians. Thereupon it was brought forth: the abbot fastened the chain of the silver-gilt casket round his neck; and when he had mounted the horse which the king had sent, the procession started for the Cathedral. As it passed—the clergy in their white vestments and rich copes, the knights and their squires riding as escort on each side of the abbot, who, under a canopy of white satin and silver embroidery that gleamed and glistened in the summer sunshine, held the reliquary aloft that all might behold it—the people were hushed into silence, and falling reverently on their knees wondered if it were all a passing vision, from which they would presently be rudely awakened only to find themselves once more amid all the horrors of war.

At the ceremony in the Cathedral all the usual rites were performed as far as was possible. The church was crowded to suffocation—not with the brilliant assembly that usually came together on such occasions, for all the pomp and display of a stately Court function were conspicuous by their absence. It was the townspeople, and the country-folk who had come in from miles round, who filled the church. The service proceeded amidst breathless silence. The deputy peers proclaimed the king, the archbishop anointed him; the crown was placed upon his head. But he

was not, after all, the centre of attraction. It was on Joan that all eyes were fixed; it was on her that every look was bent, almost as if there was a momentary expectation of a sudden development of a supernatural order. Never had the ancient walls of the venerable Cathedral looked down on such a scene: it would indeed be difficult to find one parallel to it anywhere. The enemy had scarcely gone; the English were known to be in force five leagues to the south, and the Burgundians were only eight leagues away to the north. For ten years the English had dominated the land, and this sudden change of fortune could only be attributed to a heaven-sent miracle, of which the Maid of Orleans was the human instrument. But the service was concluded and a flourish of trumpets broke the spell. The shouts and acclamations filled the building until the high vaulted roof rang again and again. Then Joan left her position on the left of the newly crowned king, and, kneeling before him, humbly declared that her mission was accomplished, and besought the "gentle king" to grant her permission to return to her home and former station. Her voice broke as she spoke the words, and many of those who heard her were equally affected to tears.

"When Charles had been anointed King of France," says Creasy, "Joan believed that her



CORONATION OF LOUIS XVI.

mission was accomplished. And in truth the deliverance of France from the English, though not completed for many years afterwards, was then ensured. The ceremony of a royal coronation and anointment was not in those days regarded as a mere costly formality. It was believed to confer the sanction and the grace of Heaven upon the prince, who had previously ruled with mere human authority. Thenceforth he was the Lord's anointed. Moreover, one of the difficulties that had previously lain in the way of many Frenchmen when called on to support Charles VII. was now removed. He had been publicly stigmatised, even by his own parents, as no true son of the royal race of France. The queen-mother, the English, and the partisans of Burgundy, called him 'the Pretender to the title of Dauphin,' but those who had been led to doubt his legitimacy were cured of their scepticism by the victories of the Holy Maid and by the fulfilment of her pledges. They thought that Heaven had now declared itself in favour of Charles as the true heir of St. Louis."

• Louis XVI. is the last of the kings of France who was crowned under the old *régime*. The ceremony was a magnificent one from every point of view: the costumes of the courtiers and the dresses and jewels of the ladies present had

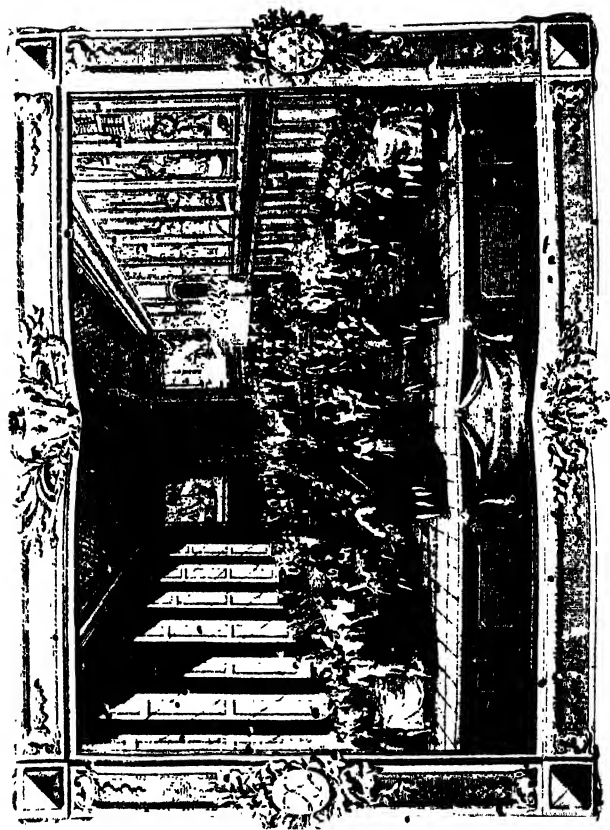
never been richer. After much deliberation it had been decided that the queen should not be crowned. "There had not been many precedents for the coronation of a queen in France; and the last instance, that of Marie de Medicis, as having been followed by the assassination of her husband, was regarded by many as a bad omen." All the mediæval ceremonies were revived, and the costumes of all the high officials were of the ancient patterns. The lay peers wore vests of gold brocade with girdles of gold, silver, and violet silk, and over all long mantles of violet cloth heavily trimmed with ermine. The Captains of the Swiss Guard wore silver stuff with embroidered shoulder belt, black mantles lined with cloth of silver, and black caps surmounted with feathers. The Grand Master and the Master of Ceremonies were attired in silver stuff doublets, black velvet breeches, and cloaks of black velvet trimmed with silver lace; they also wore caps of black velvet with white feathers.

At six o'clock in the morning the stream of richly dressed grandees began to flow into the Cathedral—one magnificent personage succeeding another in rapid succession and passing to their appointed places. Then came the cardinals and the bishops, hooded and mitred; the marshals of France, the counsellors of State,

and the great nobles wearing their coronets. The queen and her ladies entered privately and occupied a gallery which was reserved for them, and which was sumptuously decorated. At seven the procession set out to fetch the king. They went to his apartments, and knocking at his door said, "We want Louis XVI. whom God has given us as our king." After a few formalities they were permitted to enter, and, having robed the king with much ceremony, conducted him to the church. As they entered at one door the procession bringing the Sainte Ampoule from the Abbey of St. Rémi entered at another, the holy vial being carried by the archbishop, escorted by the Barons of the Sainte Ampoule. The oath taken by the king was curious: he promised among other things to maintain and preserve the Orders of the Holy Ghost and of St. Louis, always to wear the cross of the latter Order attached to a flame-coloured silk ribband, and further to enforce the edict against duels without any regard to the intercessions of any princes or potentates. "The former part of this oath," says a contemporary writer, "is of little importance, and the second is broken every day." It is interesting, too, to notice that in one of the prayers these words occur, "May he never abandon his rights over the kingdoms of the Saxons,

Mercians, people of the north and the Cimbri," which was probably a survival of the claims the French kings had formerly made to the sovereignty of England.

The king was presented with the sword of Charlemagne, and then, prostrating himself on a large square of violet-coloured velvet, before the altar, was anointed in seven places and afterwards invested with the tunic, *dalmatica*, and royal mantle, which were of violet velvet, powdered with golden fleurs-de-lys. He then received the symbols of sovereignty, and was finally crowned with Charlemagne's golden crown. As it was placed upon his head he was observed to shift uneasily in his seat, and was heard to say, "It hurts me," and he attempted to make it fit more comfortably. After the enthronement and the homage the great doors of the church were suddenly thrown open and the populace allowed to rush in. They quickly filled all the floor of the church, excepting the amphitheatre round the king occupied by all who were engaged in the ceremony, and great shouts of "Long live the king!" were raised, together with clapping of hands, in both of which the nobles and the courtiers joined. It was a scene of great enthusiasm, and Marie Antoinette was so profoundly affected by it that she was obliged to retire for a short time until she had recovered herself. On



CORONATION BANQUET OF LOUIS XVI.

her reappearance she, too, received a very great ovation. "The coronation was just perfect," she wrote to her mother afterwards; "while I live I can never forget it." The final act of the ceremony was the letting loose in the church of a large number of birds, "symbolising the monarch's regard for his people, and that men are never more truly free than under the reign of an enlightened, just, and beneficent prince."

The next coronation which took place in France was that of Napoleon; who was crowned at Paris on December 2, 1804. It was barely thirty years later, but in the meantime the Revolution had swept over France from one end to the other, and the extent of its ravages was still only too apparent. As the ancient royal family was represented by Louis XVIII., it was useless for Napoleon to attempt to revive the traditions which clustered round the ancient inauguration ceremony. He seemed rather to make a point of demonstrating the fact that the Bourbon dynasty was a thing of the past, and that a new order of government was established. He chose to be crowned at the Church of Notre-Dame in Paris, rather than at Rheims, the scene of all the coronations of the kings of France. In case it should be urged against him, too, that the ancient Sainte Ampoule containing the holy oil which had been used at every royal inaugura-

tion since Clovis' day, was not available, he had an answer ready. He was to be anointed with holy oil expressly consecrated for the occasion by the pope, and His Holiness had further announced his intention of coming to Paris for the sole purpose of officiating at the ceremony. So there is little wonder that the proclamation, issued by Louis XVIII. on the very day of Napoleon's installation, in which he swore "never to break the sacred bond which united his destiny to that of the French people, and never to renounce the inheritance of his ancestors or to relinquish his rights," fell somewhat flat, and failed to enlist the sympathies of the nation for the representative of their ancient line of kings. It was only a few months after the death of the Duc d'Enghien, and the sensation caused by that event had not quite subsided.

The reception of the pope at Napoleon's Court raised many points of etiquette which involved political issues, and any one but Napoleon would have been at a loss how to meet the exigencies of the case. He, however, was quite equal to the occasion. It was decided that the Court should be at Fontainebleau and that the emperor and the pope should meet at Nemours. To give an air of informality to the occasion, Napoleon pretended that he had been hunting, and attended by a numerous retinue he met the pope on the

top of a hill, he being on horseback and in hunting dress. The ground was muddy, and Pius VII. was very disinclined to alight in his thin white satin shoes, but Napoleon dismounted and advanced towards him, so that he had no choice in the matter. The meeting was a very cordial one, and they ostentatiously embraced each other. At that moment the emperor's carriage drove up, as if by chance, and it appeared as if the coachman had suddenly pulled up on seeing the emperor and his illustrious guest. Two footmen, who appeared to spring up from nowhere, held the doors open. Napoleon and the pope entered the carriage at the same moment, but Napoleon took care to enter on the right; he occupied the right-hand side of the carriage, having the pope on his left, and this first step decided upon the etiquette to be observed during the pope's visit without any discussion upon the subject. They drove to Fontainebleau, from whence the pope made his public entry into Paris and proceeded to the Tuileries, where a magnificent suite of rooms had been prepared for him.

The day of the coronation was cold and raw, but nothing could mar the brilliancy of the scene. The route of the procession was from the Tuileries, *via* the Rue St. Honoré, Pont au Change, and the Palais de Justice, to Notre-Dame. It was kept by a double line of foot-guards; every roof, window,

and balcony was crowded with spectators, and every foot of ground from whence a view might be obtained was occupied. Inside the church galleries had been erected for the accommodation of the large number of people who had been invited to be present, and the walls were hung with rich draperies of silk and tapestry which extended from the roof, to the pavement. Thrones were set for the emperor and empress on a temporary platform, to which access was gained by twenty-four steps.

The pope was the first to arrive. He drove in the empress's carriage, which was drawn by eight horses with plumes. But, imposing as was his procession, the appearance of his chamberlain with the papal cross, riding on a mule directly before the carriage containing His Holiness, was a little too much for the Parisians, who could with difficulty restrain their laughter. On arrival at the church His Holiness repaired to the Archiepiscopal Palace, whence he entered the church by a private door. A throne had been placed for him in the choir.

Napoleon and Josephine started from the Tuileries shortly afterwards. Their coach was of glass, open on all sides and without panels. On entering it they are said to have first seated themselves with their backs to the horses; it was only for a second, for they at once dis-

covered their mistake, but there were not wanting observers to remark that it was an ill omen. The carriage was drawn by eight bay horses decorated with white plumes, which were led by footmen; on each side walked three imperial pages. Twenty-four carriages, each drawn by six horses, conveyed the princes and grand officers, after which followed the carriages of the ministers, marshals, and generals. The procession was so long that it took an hour and a-half to pass any given spot. The emperor and empress robed in the Archiepiscopal Palace, and proceeded by a temporary wooden gallery, which had been erected round the church, to the great west door. On entering they were received with deafening shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" the pope advanced to meet them, and when they had taken their seats mass was commenced, His Holiness being the celebrant. There was no ceremony of recognition as in the English ritual. Napoleon had been elected emperor by the votes of three million five hundred thousand people, shortly before, so no further form was necessary. He was anointed by Pius VII., who blessed the crown and advanced towards him with it in his hand, and was apparently going to place it upon the emperor's head, but Napoleon, taking it from him, placed it upon his head himself, and he subsequently crowned Josephine. The

sceptre with which he was invested was of silver with a gold serpent twined round it. It was surmounted with a golden globe and figure, supposed to be Charlemagne, whose successor Napoleon claimed to be. He took the oath on the New Testament, and the heralds proclaimed him as "the thrice august Napoleon, Emperor of the French." There had not been a coronation at Notre-Dame until this occasion since Henry VI. of England was crowned King of France in 1431.

Napoleon was very restless and impatient during the ceremony and on the return journey to the Tuileries, which was by way of the Rue St. Martin, the Boulevards, and the Place de la Concorde. Anything in the way of pomp or parade was peculiarly irksome to him, and he had only arranged his coronation on such a magnificent scale in order to impress the people, and because it was a necessary accompaniment of the dignity he had assumed. As soon as he found himself back at the Palace he hurried to his own chamber, delighted to be able to get rid of his heavy robes of state. "Off, off with these confounded trappings," he said, and flung the velvet and ermine mantle into one corner of the room and his rich tunic in another, declaring at the same time that he had never been so desperately bored in all his life before.

There has only been one coronation in France since Napoleon's time—that of Charles X., who was crowned amid circumstances of great splendour at Rheims in 1825.

A few months later Napoleon was again crowned, but this time it was in Milan, in the Cathedral, and in the capacity of King of Italy. The cardinal-archbishop officiated, and Napoleon crowned himself with the famous Iron Crown of Lombardy, pronouncing in a loud voice these words as he did so: "God gives it to me; woe to him who presumes to touch it," which was part of the ancient ritual of the enthronement of the kings of Lombardy.

Among other memorable coronations was that of Mary Queen of Scots, who was a sovereign almost from the day of her birth. Never probably has the care of a little child brought more troubles and anxieties in its train than in her case. Before she was a month old her matrimonial prospects were discussed and suitors for her hand proposed. So afraid was the queen-mother lest the child should be taken from her by force that she would never allow her out of her sight. Both the Earl of Arrán and Henry VIII., who was her grand-uncle, tried to obtain possession of her person, the latter under the pretext of

giving her in marriage to his son Edward, but really with the intention of usurping the sovereignty during her minority and retaining it in the event of her death. The marriage was discussed for some months, and Henry won several of the leading Scotch nobles over to his side, but the feeling of the nation was directly opposed to it, and they also greatly disliked the conditions of the contract. Sir Ralph Sadler, the English Ambassador, wrote to Henry on one occasion that the inhabitants of the capital were threatening with oaths to burn his house over his head, so strong was the general feeling on the subject. The Court was moved to Stirling, chiefly because the queen would be safer there than anywhere else, as schemes were known to have been made to kidnap her and convey her by force to England. After some months of great anxiety, when Mary was nine months old, Henry's cause declined, and the Scottish nobility with very few exceptions rallied round the throne, and prompt measures were taken for her coronation.

On Sunday, September 9, 1543, at half-past ten, in the morning, everything was declared to be in readiness, and the baby-queen was taken out of her cradle and enveloped in the State robes. From her nursery in the great square tower of Stirling Castle, with its windows look-

ing out on the northern hills, she was carried in procession across the Castle Green to the chapel. All the high officers of State were present; the crown was borne before her by the Earl of Arran, the sceptre by the Earl of Lennox, and the sword of state by the Earl of Argyll. Here the ceremony of recognition was held, and she was hailed with acclamation by the representatives of the Three Estates there assembled, which strange noise frightened her beyond measure, and she immediately began to cry. The Earl of Arran, who was the next heir to the throne, held her in his arms during the investiture: Cardinal Beaufort clasped her tiny fingers for a moment round the sceptre, a pretence was made of girding the great sword of state round her, and the cardinal held the crown for a few seconds on her head. Her Grace's behaviour at this solemn moment left a good deal to be desired. Even the bright colours of the glittering symbols of sovereignty had no attractions for her: she was only beside herself with terror at finding herself in the arms of these grave, stern men, and at seeing so many new faces around her, and she sobbed and wailed most piteously all the time. The sound of the trumpets and the roll of the drums at different points of the service convulsed her with terror, and she acknowledged

the homage of the prelates and peers as they knelt at her feet, or touched her forehead on taking the oath of allegiance, by indignant protests in strong baby language and by uttering shrill screams and cries. The chapel was filled with a brilliant throng; the number of nobles who attended was far greater than would have been thought possible a few weeks earlier, and the greatest enthusiasm for the cause of the infant sovereign prevailed. The full rites of the ancient ceremonial were observed on this occasion, and "without much expense," the historian gladly adds.

Henry VIII.'s rage knew no bounds when he heard of the event, and he instantly ordered the infant queen to be seized during her mother's first absence and conveyed to England; but it was found impossible to carry out his instructions, so carefully was she guarded. "The earliest portraiture known of Mary," says Miss Strickland, "is her effigy on the small copper coin called the bawbee. She is there represented in full face as a smiling infant, about nine months old, wearing the crown of Scotland over a baby cap, with a miniature ruff about her neck. It was thus she probably appeared at her coronation; and it has been conjectured that this coin obtained its familiar name of 'bawbee' on account of bearing the image and superscription of the little queen."

Sixteen years later the sudden death of Henry II. of France under tragic circumstances raised Francis II., Mary's consort, to the throne. Two months after his accession he journeyed to Rheims for the purpose of being crowned. The royal couple travelled in the same carriage until they were within a short distance of the town, when Francis left Mary and, mounting a magnificent white charger, made his State entry, the general effect of which was marred by the weather, for it rained in torrents and the wind blew a gale. Mary followed in a sumptuous litter. The coronation ceremony must have been a very curious one, for by the king's express command everybody appeared in black, as a sign of mourning for the late king. It was forbidden to wear jewels or embroidery or gold, and nothing but black velvet or black silk was allowed, and the dresses were all to be very plain in style. "A most impolitic and unpopular decree as regarded the good of trade," remarks Miss Strickland, "and very hard upon the ladies." Queen Mary, however, was the one exception. She wore a rich dress and magnificent jewels. As she was already a queen in her own right, she did not participate in the rite, refusing to be crowned as merely consort to a king, especially as the law of France directed that a queen-consort was crowned

merely by the favour of the king, and that she could undertake nothing without his sanction. A gallery over the high altar of the Cathedral was fitted up for her reception, and she repaired here accompanied by the king's sister, the Queen of Spain, and their respective suites, and watched the ceremony without taking any part in it.

The election and the installation of the Popes of Rome differ very considerably from all other coronations. The office not being hereditary, and a pope not having authority to appoint his successor, the decease of a pontiff is of necessity followed by an interregnum, which in former times was frequently a period of the wildest disorder; the bare announcement of the fact that the pope was dead was on many occasions the signal for rioting to begin. "It was a period of riot and brawl which made Rome a perfect bear-garden," says one writer, "in which criminals let out of gaol enjoyed themselves mightily at the expense of peaceful folks." It was an established custom for the mob to rifle the pope's palace, and the conclave had frequently to be protected from invasion and sack by an increased guard. Many of the popes were deserted before they were actually dead, by their servants and relations, who in many instances carried off from the palace all

they could lay their hands on. After the election it was no infrequent occurrence for the attendants of the members of the conclave to break into the cell the new pope had occupied as cardinal during the conclave, and to carry off everything it contained. It need hardly be said, that none of these disgraceful scenes have occurred in recent history.

Directly a pope dies, the news is carried to the chamberlain, who is in supreme authority until the new pope is elected. He proceeds to the chamber of the deceased pontiff, and a very curious ceremony takes place—the survival of very early times. With a small hammer he strikes the forehead of the dead man three times, calling him by his name (not by his title) as he does so. Then, getting no answer, he proceeds to remove the papal ring from the already stiffening fingers and breaks it into pieces. The fact of the pope's decease is communicated to the officials of the papal court, and summonses are immediately sent out to all the cardinals who are absent, commanding their presence at the conclave to be hold in ten days' time in the place where the death of the pope occurred. The body of the late pontiff is embalmed; it is clothed in the robes of his office and conveyed to a couch of state in one of the chapels of St. Peter's, where the faithful flock to see it and to kiss its feet. A colossal

catafalque, illustrated with inscriptions and adorned with statuary, is erected in the nave of St. Peter's, and funeral rites are performed before it for nine days in succession, being brought to a conclusion by a funeral oration. On the evening of the ninth day the body is privately interred in a plain marble sarcophagus, on which only the title of the deceased appears. Here it remains until the death of the next pope, when the tomb is opened, the coffin taken out and conveyed to the crypt, and the tomb prepared for the reception of its new occupant as soon as the obsequies are over.

It is probable that in the early days of the Church both the clergy and the laity had a voice in electing the popes; that later the clergy made the election and the laity were merely asked to sanction their choice; and that finally the people were left out altogether, and the privilege of election vested in the cardinals alone. On the afternoon of the day following the interment of the deceased pope the cardinals meet in a church near the Quirinal Palace and walk in procession to the Vatican, each being accompanied by his secretary, chaplain, and personal attendant, who are all termed conclavists. Enormous crowds assemble to see them pass, for the cardinals are seldom seen in public and are known only by name. Expectation is rife, too, as regards the new pontiff; and as it is almost impossible to give

any forecast as to the probable results of the election, the greatest curiosity is evinced concerning them.

By the term conclave is meant both the place where the cardinals assemble and also the assembly itself. When the conclave is constructed in the Vatican, the large halls are so divided by wooden partitions as to furnish suites of rooms for each cardinal: two cells for an ordinary cardinal, and three for one of princely rank. Some of the cells being better than others, their Eminences draw lots for them. The doors and windows are walled up, leaving only one or two panes of glass at the top to let in a little light; the wooden partitions are covered with violet serge when the inhabitant is a creature of the pope who has just died, and with green if he be of any other creation. On the first day the conclave is open, and crowds of persons flock in and inspect the apartments and corridors; the ambassadors and delegates of foreign States and also the personal friends of the cardinals visit them for the last time. In the evening all the strangers are turned out by the Governor and by the Marshal of the Conclave, who allow only the cardinals and their attendants, the conclavists, to remain; they retain also a mason, a carpenter, a sacristan, a friar or monk to hear confessions, a barber, porters, messengers, and others in the

service of the conclave. All the entrances to the buildings are securely closed, but one, which is so strictly guarded that no unauthorised person or even message can enter from the outside world. Even the very food is subjected to a careful scrutiny in case any written communication should be conveyed with it. After three days the food sent in is restricted in quantity; the original rule, in fact, prescribed that if five days should elapse without an election being made the cardinals must subsist on bread, wine, and water, but this is not strictly adhered to now. As one conclave, that which took place in 1740, lasted nearly six months, it would have been impossible to have interpreted it literally. The contending parties on that occasion were so evenly balanced that a majority could not be secured, and this in spite of the fact that the last pope, Clement XII., who had died in his eighty-eighth year, had been very infirm for years and his death had long been expected, so that there had been plenty of time for the electors to intrigue and combine with a view to choosing his successor. De Brossus, who wrote an account of this conclave, tells us that the cardinals "lived" "packed like herrings in a barrel, without air, without light, burning candles at midday, a prey to infection; and devoured by fleas and bugs. A pretty sort of residence it will be, if their Eminences do not get their

business finished before the heat begins! It is, generally reckoned accordingly that three or four cardinals generally die of it every conclave."

When the hot weather set in, several of the cardinals were so ill that they had to leave the conclave, one or two died, and all were utterly worn out and anxious to escape from the unhealthy and infected air of the place. Finally a majority was secured and Benedict XIV. elected.

The election may be either by acclamation, which signifies unanimous selection—"all the cardinals with a sudden and harmonious consent, as though breathed on by the Divine Spirit, proclaim some person pontiff with one voice, without any previous canvassing or negotiation, whence fraud or insidious suggestion could be surmised"; or by compromise, when by unanimous consent the selection is entrusted to a small committee of two or three of their number; or lastly, by scrutiny or secret ballot, a majority of two-thirds to secure election. If on the votes being counted it is found that the number given do not constitute a majority for any one, the voting papers are all burnt in such a manner that the smoke, issuing through a flue, is visible to any one outside who may be watching for it, so that the outside world may know that no decision has as yet been arrived at. When, however, a new pope has actually been elected, the masonic

are at once set to work to break down the wall temporarily blocking up the great window over the palace gateway. The news is quickly spread, and by the time that the opening is large enough to allow of any one passing through it, a crowd will have probably collected. The first cardinal-deacon then passes out into the balcony, accompanied by his chaplain and cross-bearer, and thus proclaims the fact: "I give you tidings of great joy; we have as pope the most eminent and reverend Lord —, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Priest of the title of —, who has assumed the name of —."

A few days afterwards the coronation takes place. As since the formation of the new kingdom of Italy serious political differences have arisen between the Italian Court and the Vatican, at the coronation of Leo XIII. some changes in the usual arrangements were considered necessary. From the fourteenth century onwards the rite has invariably taken place in St. Peter's; but Leo XIII. was installed in the Sistine Chapel, and it is impossible to say what further modifications may be made on future occasions. According to established custom, as the pope enters the church for his coronation, a clerk of the papal chapels holds up before him a reed surmounted by a handful of flax, which being lighted, flashes up with a sudden blaze and then as quickly dies



PROCESSION OF A POPE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

out. This is done three times during the procession up the church, the chaplain each time reciting the words, "Pater sancte, sic transit gloria, mundi." The pope, wearing a gold mitre, is borne, on the sedia gestatoria by bearers dressed in scarlet; a silver and damask baldachino is held over him, and great fans of ostrich and peacock's feathers are carried on either side. The Swiss Guards, the bishops and cardinals, precede him, the bishop's mitre and the tiara are borne before him. The new pope celebrates mass, after which the coronation takes place in the balcony over the portico of St. Peter's, overlooking the great piazza. The second cardinal-deacon removes the mitre which he has worn till then, and the senior cardinal-deacon places the tiara on his head. The act is the signal for a burst of music, and the people sing the *Kyrie Eleison*. Then the pope rises to his feet and pronounces a benediction on the kneeling multitude in the square below.

The tiara worn by the popes is a lofty uncleft mitre encircled by three coronets rising one above the other, and surmounted by a ball supporting a cross, with ribbons at each side, similar to those of the mitre of an Italian bishop. The early popes simply wore a plain pointed cap. Pope Hormisdas (A.D. 523) added the first coronet, Boniface VIII. (A.D. 1294-1303) added the second, and John

XXII. (A.D. 1316-34) the third. It was first worn in its present form by Benedict XII. in 1344. The crosier borne by the popes is quite straight in the middle, a curved staff being symbolic of limited jurisdiction.

Leo XIII. was crowned in the Sistine Chapel after mass was completed. During the ceremony, he was seated on a throne placed on a dais erected to the left of the altar, and he gave the benediction from the front of the altar. Whether this same precedent will be followed on the occasion of the coronation of the next pope, or whether the former custom of crowning the Holy Father in St. Peter's will be reverted to, remains to be seen.

CHAPTER IX

CORONATIONS IN THE FAR EAST

THE coronation of the Kings of Persia is very minutely described by Sir John Chardin, a famous traveller who lived in the seventeenth century, and who gives an account of the enthronement of Solyman III., who was contemporary with Charles II. of England.

The ceremony took place in an ancient apartment built in the form of a perfect square, each side of which measured twenty-four feet. It is raised three feet above the ground, and is open on all sides, the flat roof being supported by pillars twenty-seven feet high, both the ceiling and the pillars being very heavily gilt. It is known as the Hall of the Stables.

In the centre rose a platform called the Balcony of State, and the rest of the apartment was divided off by two low, richly gilt railings. The sides were hung with crimson linen curtains gaudily painted, rich silk carpets covered the floor, and down each side of the Hall were placed low, square divans, covered with tissue of gold

or silver. The Balcony of State was spread with carpets of gold and silver, on which were placed several cushions of silk and velvet with gold thread cunningly interwoven into a design of flowers and foliage. In the centre of the Balcony was a mattress of fine wool, over which was thrown a coverlet of Indian manufacture, pinked with gold, and kept in position by four heavy golden apples studded with precious stones. On this was placed a cushion for the king, the under side of which was of cloth-of-gold, intermixed with red flowers and green leaves; the upper part being so thickly studded with precious stones that the material of which it was made was almost hidden from view. On the Balcony of State were also the throne, the crown, the sword, and the dagger, the four symbols of sovereignty, which were placed on the ground and covered over with an embroidered cloth.

When the king was apprised that all was in readiness for his coronation, he left his apartments and proceeded to a bathroom near the Hall, where he took a bath as a preliminary to the ceremony, in order to purify himself as the law ordained; after which he clothed himself in new robes. He then entered the Hall and sat down at the place appointed for him, and the chief officials followed him on to the Balcony of State and took up their stations. Behind the king's

seat stood six young Georgian attendants, ranged in a semi-circle, and dressed in fine white linen embroidered in silver and gold; behind, also in a semi-circle, appeared a great number of elderly black attendants, holding in their hands long muskets, with stocks of gold and precious stones. On either side of the king were the chief officers of State, among them being the Chief Astrologer and his assistant, who were to settle the most propitious moment for the ceremony, to take place. Both sides of the Hall were full of officers and courtiers, and on the king's left stood the General of the Musketeers, who was Lord High Steward of the Household for the occasion, and who carried a great truncheon of gold, encrusted with precious stones, as his badge of office.

Presently the Chief of the Astrologers announced that he had been carefully watching the stars, and that in twenty minutes' time the favourable moment would occur. The assembly waited in silence, and when the Chief of the Astrologers gave the signal the General of the Musketeers, with many prostrations presented to the king the State document conveying the news of the late king's decease and his own selection from among the princes as sovereign, which the king on receiving handed back to him, and ordered to be read aloud. After it had been

258 CORONATIONS IN THE FAR EAST

read, the Ancient of the Law presented himself, and on the document being handed to him he read it and carefully examined the seals to assure himself that everything was in order. The king was then conducted to the throne; which was of gold studded with emeralds and rubies, and so heavy that two men could barely lift it. After he had seated himself upon it the investiture began. The crown, or rather the bonnet, the sword, and dagger were then uncovered; the Ancient of the Law reciting a prayer and a confession of the national faith the while. At its conclusion the king was invested with the sword and dagger, which were both of gold and jewels, and the crown was placed upon his head. A long prayer followed, which was really more of the nature of a homily, and which was delivered by a great and learned doctor of the realm, after which with great acclamations the newly crowned monarch was greeted by all present, who presented themselves in turn to pay their respects by the three customary prostrations.

The royal crown or bonnet of Persia is flat, with a long point which appears to rise out of the middle, but which is as a matter of fact only sewn on. It is of cloth-of-gold, the outside of the long point being covered with embroidery of diamonds, from whence hang down several chains.

of precious stones. The deep upstanding border is also hung about with strings of precious stones, and several tufts resembling heron's feathers are fastened at intervals round it. The Persian Crown jewels are valued at between seven and eight millions sterling.

The present King of Siam is a very enlightened monarch, and possibly the ceremonies which we are about to describe may be modified when they come to be performed over his successors by reason of the many changes in opinion and administration which he is inaugurating in his kingdom.

The crown is hereditary, but it does not of necessity pass to the eldest son of the late sovereign. A king may nominate his successor, but the influential nobles of the country also have a voice in the matter, and without their consent the king's nominee cannot obtain the throne. On the death of the sovereign the king-elect is taken to the palace with great state. On arriving there his first duty is to attend to the corpse of the deceased monarch. When he has washed the body he receives the princes and nobles, that they may take the oath of fidelity to him. The prime minister reads aloud the oath, which contains terrible imprecations against all traitors; and when all present have declared their allegiance to the new king, a

260 CÔRONATIONS IN THE FAR EAST

golden bowl is produced containing water, into which the king's scimitar has been dipped and over which the priests have pronounced imprecatory denunciations, and from which everybody drinks to emphasise his good faith to the new king and his obligation to respect the oath he has taken to him.

On the day of the coronation every house in the capital is illuminated by lanterns, and an altar adorned with rich silks and with lights and mirrors is placed at every door. The day is devoted to sports and amusements. Inside the palace, in one of the large halls, nine mandarins, each bearing a chandelier with three lights, promenade nine times round a golden box containing the king's name written on a sheet of gold; gongs and drums are beaten, and the astrologers sound their conch shells until the king enters. Before an idol called the Idol of Victory he performs an act of homage; and attiring himself in a rich white silk robe embroidered with gold, he ascends a throne. Two princes sprinkle him with lustral water, he washes himself in water presented by the Brahmins in shells, and discarding his white garment puts on a yellow one, which is also heavily trimmed with gold. Then descending from the throne he walks into the next hall, where is a second throne, octagonal in form and surmounted by a seven-

storied pagoda-like umbrella, on which he seats himself, facing the east. Round the throne sit eight Brahmins, one facing each side. In turn they approach and pronounce a benediction in the Pali language, until the king has been blessed at each of the eight points of the compass, after which he is conducted to a third throne, where he seats himself, facing the north, on a golden lion. A venerable Brahmin advances, sings a benedictory hymn, and then delivers the kingdom into his keeping. The king then receives the symbols of royalty, which are, first, a seven-storied umbrella, then in succession a golden tube containing his name, a crown, a collar composed of diamonds, a royal staff, and a royal scimitar. Eight warlike weapons are also formally presented to him—a javelin, a lance, a bow, a sword, a poignard, a sabre, a sword-stick, and a musket. The presentations being over, the king in his turn and in a loud voice gives permission to his subjects to use all the trees, plants, waters, and stones in the kingdom; which gracious permission is suitably acknowledged by one of the mandarins saying to him, "Your servants receive the excellent orders of our lord, whose voice is majestic as a lion's roar." The king scatters flowers of gold and silver among the assembled people, and pours out water on the ground for the benedic-

262 CÔRONATIONS IN THE FAR EAST

tion of all animal and vegetable life in his dominions. During the whole of all these ceremonies a great noise of gongs, drums, and conch shells is unceasingly kept up.

The king then passes to another hall, and taking up his position on a costly carpet, heavily embroidered with diamonds and other precious stones, certain prayers are read, which are, however, perfectly inaudible, owing to the noisy accompaniments of the musical instruments, after which the chief nobles in turn advance, crawling, to the king's feet, and each one presents him with the property of the department over which he presides. The Master of the Palace presents the palace and all its contents; the Minister of Justice, the City of Bangkok; the Minister for Agriculture, the produce of all the fields and gardens; the Royal Treasurer, all that the exchequer contains; the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the royal barges, the arsenals, ships of war, soldiers, and all military stores; the Minister of the Interior, the elephants and horses, and the capitals of the first, second, third, and fourth order with their inhabitants. This concludes the public ceremonies. On withdrawing to the interior of the palace, two ladies of the Court wash the king's feet, and the princesses present sweetmeats and tributes. The king then enters his palanquin and is conveyed to the

Temple of the Emerald Buddha, where he performs his adorations in the midst of lighted wax-tapers and perfumed joss-sticks; and with an oblation to the ashes of his ancestors, which are enclosed in golden urns, the ceremonies finally close.

The King of Siam is an absolute monarch, and according to Oriental custom he is treated more like a divinity than a human being. No one ever used to dare to stand in his presence or to look upon his countenance, and when he went outside his palace all his subjects used to bow to the ground as he passed. Even now his name is never pronounced, and he is only alluded to under certain designations, such as the Master of the World, Descendant of Angels, and so forth.

It is when we come to China, however, that we arrive at the apotheosis of monarchy. There the emperor is not merely styled the King of Heaven—it is the common belief that he actually is so. Princes of other lands are held to be under his authority and to be merely his vassals. “Earth has not two kings,” said Confucius; “there is but one God and also one Emperor.” “A sovereign power has not two Directors.” In theory his power extends over all lands, and the disposal of all princes is in his hands. “China,” say his subjects; “is the middle kingdom: it is practically the heart

of the earth, and all other countries are scattered about outside it like so many tributary states. The early history of the country is interesting. It goes back, we are told, to ninety millions of years before the Christian era, but most unfortunately most of their early historical books were burnt by order of Che Hwang-te, their first nominal monarch, and so there are no written records of it! "They suppose that by Ararat Moses meant no particular mountain, but the first land which showed itself after the waters of the deluge had subsided, which they take to have been the elevated parts of Eastern Asia; that he followed the track of the large rivers of China, southward, and finding it to be fertile and open country, he founded the Chinese monarchy. Subsequently, his offspring becoming impious, he separated from them, shortly before their daring and presumptuous act of building the tower of Babel, and travelled eastwards; about 200 years after, he settled in one of the northern provinces, B.C. 2414. Here he fixed his abode, established his religion, promulgated his laws, and founded his patriarchate."* He reigned 115 years, and his successor 140, and thus by degrees the history of the nation is brought down to the Emperors Yaou and Shun, who are looked upon as the patriarchs of China.

* *Ancient and Modern History of China.*

Once an insurrection nearly broke out in China because it was rumoured that the new emperor was not of divine origin, but that, as a matter of fact, he could not trace his descent back further than eight generations. The authorities, however, managed to restore tranquillity by explaining just what the facts of the case were. "Once upon a time," it appears, "the Daughter of Heaven descended to earth at the foot of the white mountain on the borders of the Poulkoudri lake and ate of some red fruit; when she conceived, and bore a son, who partook of the celestial nature, and was endued with so much immaculate wisdom and beauty that the Chinese immediately selected him for their sovereign." * As the slandered emperor was directly descended from him, all was made clear and peace was once more restored.

The basis of all social institution in China is parental authority, and this completely transuses the spirit of the Government. "The emperor is the sire, his officers are the responsible elders of its provinces, departments, and districts, as every father of a household is of its inmates. This may be the theory of other Governments, but nowhere has it been systematised so thoroughly, and acted upon so consistently and for so long a period as in China."

266 CORONATIONS IN THE FAR EAST

The administration preserves its power by a system of close surveillance and mutual responsibility among all classes, which imbues the mass of the people with a great fear of the Government, both of its officers and operations, and a mutual distrust which deters them from combining in an intelligent manner to resist Governmental exactions. All this, together with their geographical isolation and their rigid conservatism, has tended to maintain the relative positions of sovereign and subjects unchanged for a period of perhaps more than two thousand years. "Everything is determined by custom or immemorial practice, from which it would be highly dangerous for even the emperor to depart. The Chinese is emphatically a government of precedent, and his celestial majesty is, in reality, the creature of custom and etiquette." All of which helps to explain the glaring anachronisms of present-day life in China.

The late Emperor of China died without issue,—the first instance in the history of the Gioro race for nearly three centuries; and after some delay, occasioned by palace intrigues, a nephew of the deceased monarch, a child of four years of age, was selected as his successor. Directly this decision was arrived at, which was late one night, the child was aroused from sleep and brought before the Council of the princes to

be acknowledged as emperor. An inaugural proclamation was then issued, announcing that as the late emperor had departed on the Great Journey, K'wangsü, the new emperor, had received the government of the world from Heaven and from revolving nature.

It is usual for an emperor-elect to declare himself unworthy to reign, and to refuse three several times to accept the symbols of sovereignty offered to him by one of the highest functionaries; and after an unwilling consent has apparently been wrung out of him, the astrologers fix a propitious day for his installation. This ceremony is called Ascending the Summit, and it takes place in a great Hall called the Hall of Peace, which stands on a terrace twenty-four feet above the ground, access to it being gained by five flights of stairs decorated with balustrades and sculptures. In the centre is a platform with nine steps—nine being the number of the heavens according to Chinese belief; on it is placed a golden throne adorned with jewels. The officers of State take up their position on one side of the hall, and the emperor's relations on the female side on the other. His relations on his father's side do not assist at the ceremonies. The Grand Master of the Board of Rites stations himself in front of the throne and issues the necessary directions.

268 CORONATIONS IN THE FAR EAST

When all were assembled, a messenger was despatched to entreat His Majesty to visit the altar of the deceased monarch. His Majesty complied, wearing a white robe, and on arriving before the altar announced to His late Majesty that he had received the decree which conferred the government of the world on him, and he knelt thrice to the shades of the deceased emperor and bowed nine times, after which he retired to his own rooms. Then the Court officials sent an imposing deputation to him to implore him to array himself in his State robes and to pay a visit to the Empress Dowager. She received him wearing her State robes and seated on her throne; and having knelt three times before him and bowed nine times, the emperor again retired. After these filial duties, a pause in the ceremonies then took place, until the officer of the Astronomical Board announced that the chosen and felicitous moment had arrived for His Majesty to proceed to the Hall for the final ceremony. The golden chariot conveyed him to the Hall; he entered, and when he had seated himself, all the illustrious personages present knelt, and bowed nine times to him. Then the President of the Board of Rites, leaving his place, approached His Majesty and humbly besought him to mount the imperial throne.

The emperor then ascended the golden or dragon throne, and seated himself with his face to the south. The great book containing the privileges and rights of the sovereign was brought by the President of the Board of Rites and placed upon a table before the throne, and extracts from it were solemnly read. There being no coronation ceremony and no formal investiture, the emperor seating himself on the throne constitutes an installation. At the command of the chief officer of the Imperial Guards, the throne was struck three times with a brazen rod, called the whip; but this is the only symbolic ceremony. At the same moment a bell was rung at one of the palace gates to announce the fact to the outside world, and drums beat; but there was no other music on account of the mourning for the late monarch, although the Board of Music was present. All present advanced in turn and knelt three times before the throne and bowed nine times. The proclamation was sealed, and several rites took place in order that the royal ancestors, the heavens above and the earth beneath, might be acquainted with the fact of His Majesty's accession. The emperor then retired amid much prostration and kōw-tōwing. The proclamation was escorted under a golden canopy, with much state and many bowings, to a tower near the

gate of Celestial Repose, where it was read, all present remaining on their knees the while; at the conclusion of the reading they all rose, and then knelt again three times and bowed nine times. Many other such ceremonies, very similar in nature, followed; after which the proclamation was ordered to be printed and published, and the ceremony considered to be at an end.

The reverence with which the Chinese regard their monarch is bewildering to us. Reverence is even paid to the sedan-chair in which are conveyed the royal edicts signed with the vermilion pencil which only he may use. The imperial despatches are received in the provinces with burning of incense and prostrations. Any one intruding into his retinue when he is travelling, or attempting to cross through it, subjects himself to the penalty of death, which is also incurred by any unauthorised person entering any of the rooms of the palace which he shortly before occupied. He is but seldom seen in public, and often on State occasions takes up his position behind a yellow screen, all obeisances and prostrations being performed in front of it, as implying his presence. Thus any yellow screen anywhere in the kingdom is considered worthy of reverence and is an object of adoration. The name he assumes on his

accession may never be spoken: he is always alluded to in conversation under one of his many titles, and even the characters of which it is written are not allowed to be used for any other word, so that certain letters are taken out of the alphabet altogether during each reign. He and his family alone are clothed in yellow robes—yellow being the colour worn by the sun, say the Chinese; and the five-clawed dragon is a symbol employed by him alone. Almost everything used by him, or in his personal service, is tabooed to the common people and is distinguished by some peculiar mark or colour, so as to keep up the impression of awe with which he is regarded, and which is so powerful an auxiliary to his throne. The outer gate of his palace must always be passed on foot, and the paved entrance leading up to it can only be used by him. But with all this he is not allowed to lean back in public; to smoke, to change his mode of dress, or in fact to indulge in the least relaxation from the fatiguing support of his dignity, so that his position is not a very enviable one.

With the Emperor of China we take our farewell of the great monarchs of the world and their attendant glories. We switch off the light. The brilliant setting in which so many illustrious men and women of the past

272 CORONATIONS IN THE FAR EAST

have appeared for one brief moment from the dusty corners of history fades away in the darkness, and as in a dream they are gone.

“All ye as a wind shall go by, as a fire shall ye pass and be past,

Ye are gods, and behold, ye shall die—and the waves be upon you at last.

In the darkness of time, in the deeps of the years, in the changes of things,

Ye shall sleep as a slain man sleeps, and the world shall forget you as kings.”

INDEX

- Abergavenny, Lords, 10
- Acton, Mr., 112
- Aidan, 26, 27
- Aldermen of London, 6, 81, 89, 91, 106, 138
- Alfred, King, coronation of, 40
- crown of, 40, 41, 110, 152-155, 157
- Almoner, Grand, 11
- Lord High, 11
- Ambrius, Mount of, 37
- Amulla, 20, 86, 158-160
- Arbaster, Lord, 16
- Andrews, Jonathan, 131
- Anne Boleyn, 212
- Anne of Denmark, 109
- Anne, Queen, 122, 123-125, 128, 134
- Aquitaine, Duke of, 134
- duchy of, 134
- Archbishop of Canterbury, 14, 18, 67, 80, 82, 83, 92, 95, 100, 102, 107, 109, 113, 125, 151, 146, 147, 160
- Dublin, 67
- Mayence, 31
- Rheims, 178
- Rouen, 67
- Tours, 67
- York, 16, 107, 123
- Arran, Earl of, 241, 243
- Arras, Bishop of, 105
- Arthur, King, 35, 38-40, 203, 217
- Athelstan, 42, 191
- Attempted theft of the regalia, 141, 166
- Aurelius, 35, 37, 38
- Bad language at a coronation, 125, 126
- Bakewell, Sir John, 79
- Banquets, coronation, 8, 9, 69, 73, 76, 78, 84, 86, 88, 89, 90, 95, 115, 126, 128, 129, 132, 133, 139, 141, 204, 212
- Barons of the Cinque Ports, 7, 10, 71, 93, 116
- Sainte-Ampoule, 228, 229, 233, 235
- Bath and Wells, Bishop of, 15, 18, 67, 93
- Bath, Knights of the, 8, 82, 103, 132, 203, 211-213, 220, 222
- reactions of, 92, 101, 110, 117, 204, 212, 213-216, 218, 219
- degradations of, 217, 222, 223
- installations of, 205-211, 215, 218-220
- qualifications of, 217
- Bath, Order of the, 190, 204, 205, 209, 216-223
- Baxter, Richard, 114
- Beauchamp, Earls of Warwick, 12
- Beaufort, Cardinal, 243
- Benedict XIV., 251
- Bible on which Coronation Oath was taken, 170
- presentation of, at a coronation, 102
- Bile-Magh-Adair, 33
- Bishop of Arras, 105
- Bath and Wells, 15, 18, 67, 93
- Carlisle, Cleeethorpe, 107
- Durham, 15, 18, 27, 93
- Lincoln, Cussette, 73

274 THE CROWNING OF A KING

- Bishop of London, 107, 115
 - Winchester, 64, 90
- Bishops, 86, 93, 102, 107, 109, 123
 - Black Prince, 81, 86, 159, 165
 - Blood, Colonel, 161-164
 - Blow, 118
- Boniface VIII., 253
 - Bosworth, 98
 - Bourchier, Cardinal, 98
 - Bretagne, Duke of, 76
 - Buckingham Palace, 143, 147
 - Butler, Chief, 10, 12, 97
- Canterbury, 64
 - Archbishops of, 14, 18, 67, 80, 82, 83, 93, 95, 100, 103, 107, 109, 113, 125, 131, 146, 147, 160
- Canute, 45
 - Cap of maintenance, 68, 153
- Cardinal Bouchier, 98
 - Beaufort, 243
- Carlisle, Bishop of, 107
- Chalons, 227
- Chamberlain, Lord Great, 16
- Champion, the King's, 8, 11, 83, 87, 90, 96, 115, 116, 120, 121, 133, 141
- Charlemagne, 29, 177, 234
- Charles I., 41, 110-114
- Charles II., 82, 114-117, 158, 163, 205, 254
- Charles V., 186
- Charles VII., 226-231
- Charles X., 178, 224, 241
- Cheapside, 6, 81, 82, 99, 104
- Chief Butler, 10, 12, 97
 - Lardner, 10
- China, Emperor of, 267-271
- Cinque Ports, Barons of, 7, 13, 71, 93, 116
- City Companies, 6, 82, 85, 99
 - of Legions, 38
- Clarke, James, 134
- Clement XII., 250
- Clow's, 178, 228
- Cochrane, 222
- Cock Crower, King's, 13
- Colobium sindonis, 163
- Commons, 127, 196
- Conclave, 247, 249-251, 252
- Conclavists, 249
- Constable of England, 16
- Convention Parliament, 48
- Coots, Sir Eyre, 223
- Coronation of Alfred, 40, 41
 - Anne, 124, 125
 - Arthur, 38-40
 - Athelstan, 42, 43
 - Canute, 45
 - Charlemagne, 29-31
 - Charles I., 110-114
 - Charles II., 114-117
 - Charles VII., 226-231
 - Charles X., 178-241
 - Edward I., 65, 77
 - Edward II., 77-79
 - Edward III., 80
 - Edward V., 91, 92
 - Edward VI., 102-103
 - Edward VII., 148
 - Edward the Confessor, 45
 - Elizabeth, 106, 107
 - Emperors of Germany, 31
 - Ethelred II., 44
 - Francis II., 245, 246
 - George I., 125-127, 134
 - George II., 127-129
 - George III., 129-134
 - George IV., 16, 134-140
 - Hardicanute, 45
 - Harold, 48-51
 - Henry I., 63, 64
 - Henry II., 66, 67
 - Henry III., 72, 73
 - Henry IV., 85-87
 - Henry V.
 - Henry VI., 89, 90
 - Henry VII., 98, 99
 - Henry VIII., 99, 100
 - James I., 109, 110
 - James II., 117-121
 - John, 71
 - Louis XVI., 231-235
 - Mary I., 103-105
 - Mary II., 122, 123
 - Mary Queen of Scots, 242-244
 - Napoleon, 235-241
 - Pepin the Breton, 20
 - the Popes, 252, 253
 - Richard I., 67-70
 - Richard II., 81, 85
 - Richard III., 92-98

- Stephen, 62, 65
 the Tears of Russia, 32
 Victoria, 13, 17, 142-148
 William I., 55-58
 William II., 60, 61
 William III., 122, 126
 William IV., 16, 17, 140, 141
 Coronation of Kings of Denmark, 32
 France, 31
 Hungary, 32
 Ireland, 32, 33
 Persia, 255-258
 Poland, 32
 Scandinavia, 32
 Scotland, 33, 34
 Siam, 259-263
 Spain, 31, 32
 Sweden, 32
 Coronation of the Lords of the Isles, 34
 Coronets, 17, 20, 22, 151, 167
 Count of Hainault, 79
 Savoy, 75
 Cunner, 101, 102
 Cwyp, 20, 22, 68, 89, 90, 92, 93, 100, 115, 118, 119, 131, 154, 157, 158, 162-164
 of Charlemagne, 177, 178
 of Hungary, 187-189
 Imperial, of England, 41
 of Persia, 258, 259
 St. Edgitha's, 22, 151, 154
 St. Edward's, 20, 40, 41, 95, 110, 152, 153, 157, 166, 167
 Cumberland, Duke of, 218
 Dalmatica, 66, 168, 169
 Danby, Lord, 123
 De Breteuil, 61, 62
 Degradation of a knight, 201, 202, 217, 223
 Dorchester, Lady, 126
 Dover, 64
 Dress in the twelfth century, 64
 Druid's stone, 44
 Dubbing a knight, 191, 196, 198, 200, 213
 Dublin, Archbishop of, 67
 Dubricius, 38
 Dunstan, 44, 46, 63
 Durham, Bishop of, 15, 18, 67, 93
 Dymoke, 83, 84, 90, 95, 115
 Edgar Atheling, 48
 Edward I., 75-77
 Edward II., 22, 77-79, 153, 198-200
 Edward III., 79-81, 194, 202, 203
 Edward IV., 90-92, 98, 194, 212
 Edward V., 92
 Edward VI., 100, 242
 Edward VII., 148
 Edward the Confessor, 41, 45-48, 54, 73, 152, 153, 166
 Effingham, Earl of, 13
 Egbert, 40
 Eldred, 55, 57, 58
 Eleanor, Queen, 68
 Election of kings, 25
 Elizabeth, Queen, 23, 100, 105-107, 165, 166
 Esterhazy, 145
 Ethelred II., 44, 45
 Ethelwulf, 40
 Exeter, Marquis of, 11
 Feudal services rendered at a coronation, 9-16
 Finsbury Fields, 97
 Florence, Grand Duke of, 221
 France, Kings of, 85, 203, 225-241, 245
 regalia of, 177-181
 Francis I., 194
 Francis II., 245
 Galen, 192
 Garter King-at-Arms, 96
 Garter, Order of the, 85, 203, 204
 Gaveston, Piers, 78, 79
 Geoffrey of Anjou, 191-193
 George I., 125-127, 134, 190, 216, 220
 George II., 13, 127-129
 George III., 129-134, 166
 George IV., 8, 9, 16, 84, 134, 140, 143, 144
 Giants' Dance, the, 34-38
 Gullomanus, 36, 37
 "Glass Book of the Coronation of Kings," 27

276 THE CROWNING OF A KING

- Gloucester, coronation at, 42
- Grand Almoner, 1
- Carver, 10
- Pannetier, 12
- Green Park, 148
- Grey de Ruthven, Lord, 16
- Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, 73
- Gunbald, King of Burgundy, 25, 26

- Hainault, Count of, 79
- Hanchett, 223
- Handel, 128
- Hardicanute, 45
- Harold, 45, 51, 53, 56, 66
- Henrietta Maria, Queen, 111
- Henry I., 61-64, 170, 191
- Henry I., 66, 67
- Henry III., 1, 72-74, 75
- Henry IV., 85-87, 160, 204, 205
- Henry V., 87, 88, 165, 212
- Henry VI., 88-90, 194, 212, 224
- Henry VII., 91, 98, 194
- Henry VIII., 99, 100, 109, 170, 212, 241, 242, 244
- Henry II. of France, 245
- Henry IV. of France, 224, 225
- Herbwoman, 7, 118
- Irill of Tara, 32
- Holy Land, 74, 75
- Homage, 21, 125, 134, 137, 147, 244
- Homisdas, 253
- House of Commons, 3
- Hurst Castle, 66
- Hyde Park, 141

- Inauguration of ancient kings, 25, 26
- Indian Empire, 148, 149
- Installation of a knight, 191-193
- Installation of a Knight of the Bath, 205-211
- Iron Crown of Lombardy, 185-187, 241
- Isabella, Queen, 77, 80

- Jacobites, 126, 133, 134
- James I., 108-110, 213-215
- James II., 111-121, 122, 166
- Jewel House, 152, 167, 168

- Jewish High Priest's crown, 150
- Jews massacred, 69, 70
- Joan of Arc, 226, 227, 230, 231
- John, King, 70-72
- John XXII., 253, 254
- Josephine, Empress, 238, 239

- Katherine of Arragon, 105
- Killaraus, 35, 37
- King of Sweden, 221
- King's Cook Chamber, 1
- Cook, 209, 219
- Gatehouse, 7, 111, 114, 118, 214
- Kings, ancient, selection of, 25
- elevation of, 24, 25
- inauguration of, 25
- King, of Denmark, 31
- France, 85, 203, 225-241, 245
- Hungary, 32
- Ireland, 32, 33
- Naples, 221
- Scandinavia, 31
- Scotland, 33, 34, 76, 77, 203
- Spain, 31, 33
- Wales, 27, 76, 77
- Kingston-on-Thames, 42-45
- Knights in Saxon times, 191-195
- Bachelors, 196
- degradation of, 201, 202
- dubbing of, 191, 196-198, 200, 213
- investiture of, 193, 196, 198-201
- Milites, 16
- qualifications of, 197
- Knights of the Bath, 8, 32, 103, 132, 204, 211-213, 226, 227
- Creations of, 92, 101, 110, 117, 204, 212, 213-216, 218, 219
- degradation of, 217, 222, 223
- installations of, 205, 211, 215, 218, 220
- qualifications of, 217
- Koh-i-Noor, 170-177
- Kremlin, 2

- Lady Dorchester, 126
- Lancaster, Earl of, 79
- Lausanne, 59
- Lardier, Chief, 10

- Leo XIII., 232, 254
- "Liber Regalis," 58
- Lincoln, Earl of, 10, 115
- Lombardy, Iron Crown of, 185-187, 241
- London, 45, 62, 64, 66, 72, 82, 85, 91, 97, 104, 108, 129, 133, 147, 148
 - aldermen, 81, 89, 91, 106, 138
 - Bishop of, 107, 115
 - citizens, 87, 91
 - City Companies, 6, 82, 85, 99
 - merchants, 76
- Lord Great Chamberlain, 16, 19
 - High Almoner, 11
 - High Constable, 15, 16, 115
 - Mayor, 12, 89, 91, 95, 97, 99, 108, 130
- Louis XI., 294
- Louis XVI., 231-235
- Louis XVIII., 235, 236
- Louis, Dauphin of France, 72
- Ludgate, 104
- Mantle, imperial, 168-170
- Marie Antoinette, 232-235
- Marshal, the Earl, 83, 87, 201
- Marsin, Henry, 156
- Mary I., Queen, 11, 100, 103-105, 213
- Mary II., Queen, 121-123
- Mary de Medicis, 225, 232
- Mary of Modena, 118-121
- Mary Queen of Scots, 165, 166, 241-246
- Medal, Coronation, 21, 80, 123
- Melville, Sir James, 165, 166
- Merlin, 36-38
- Mildmay, Sir Henry, 156
- Monz, Cathedral, 186, 187
- Moon of the Mountains, 183, 185
- Moreford, 42
- Nabob of Arcot, 221
- Waalaujan, 221
- Napier, 12
- Naples, King of, 221
- Napoleon, 180, 186, 187, 224, 235-241
- Neville, Lords Abergavenny, 11
- New Forest, 61
- Nicholas II., Pope, 55
- Norfolk, Duke of, 15
- Normandy, Duke of, 49, 51, 52, 71, 134
- Oath, coronation, 82, 117, 122, of knighthood, 195
- Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, 107
- Oil, sacred, 22, 23, 68, 105, 236
- Omens at coronations, 65, 68-70, 88, 112-114, 116, 117, 119, 120, 131
- Orb, the, 20, 151, 162
- Order of the Bath, 190, 204, 205, 209, 216-223
 - Garter, 85, 203, 206
 - Holy Ghost, 233
 - St. Louis, 233
- Orloff diamond, the, 183-186
- Ormond, Marquis of, 10
- Oxford, 45
- Palace of Sheen, 91
 - Westminster, 2, 67, 82, 100, 112, 217, 220
 - Yard, 84, 135
- Pannetier, Grand, 12
- Paris, 90, 224, 225, 235, 237
- Peers, 7, 17, 20, 95, 98, 143
- Peppresses, 7, 17, 22, 95, 143
- Pembroke, Lord, 116, 157
- Pepin le Bref, 28
- Peter the Great, 2, 182
- Pierse, Mr., 168
- Pius VII., 236-239
- Pontificate of Egbert, Archbishop of York, 28
- Pope, the, 29-31, 40, 55, 100, 117
 - coronation of a, 252, 253
 - election of a, 249, 252
 - Obsequies of a, 247, 248
 - tiara of, 252, 254
- Pretender, the young, 133, 144
- Places of seats at coronations, 106, 123, 129, 130, 135, 136, 142
- Prince George of Denmark, 124, 125
- of Wales, 85, 161, 188-200, 215, 216

278 THE CROWNING OF A KING

Procession from the Tower to Westminster, 5-7, 81, 82, 85, 89, 92, 99, 100, 101, 104, 106, 108, 116, 212

from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, 7-9, 78, 85, 86, 93, 101, 102, 114, 118, 122, 124, 132, 133, 133

rurcell, 118

Qualifications of a knight, 196, 197

Queen Anne, 122, 123-125, 128, 132

Anne Bolingbroke, 212

Anne of Denmark, 109

Caroline, 136, 137

Charlotte, 131

Eleanor, 68

Elizabeth, 33, 100, 105-107, 165, 166

Henrietta Maria, 111

Isabella, 72, 80

Katherine of Aragon, 99, 109

Mary I., 11, 100, 103-105, 213

Mary, 111-123

Mary (of Modena), 118-121

Mary of Scotland, 100, 100, 241-246

Victoria, 10, 16, 142-148, 148, 169, 170, 176, 177, 223

Queens of France, 31, 225

Marie Antoinette, 232-235

Marie de Medicis, 225, 232

Recognition, the, 18, 19, 101, 102, 243

Regalia, the, 14, 16, 18, 59, 72, 110-112, 154, 155, 160-163

the new, 155, 158, 160, 167

of France, 177-181, 228

of Russia, 181-185

"Regent" diamond, 179, 181

Rehearsal of coronation, 136, 136

Relic of the Holy Blood, 74

Rexius, 178, 179, 224, 225-234, 235, 236, 236

Archbishop of, 187

Richard I., 67-70, 153

Richard II., 1, 12, 81-85, 160, 204

Richard III., 92-98

Ring, 119, 146, 147, 158

Robert of Gloucester, 41

Robin of Risdale, 97

Rolle, Lord, 147

Rouen, 67, 191

Ruby, the great, 164-166

Ruhl, Philip, 178

Russia, Emperors of, 183

Empress of, 183, 221

regalia of, 183-185

Sadler, Sir Ralph, 242

Sainte Ampoule, 160, 172, 226, 228, 229, 235

Barons of the, 228, 233

Sale of Regalia of England, 111, 154

French Crown Jewels, 181

Sancr diamond, 180

Sardina, King of, 221

Sceptre, 20, 93, 112, 115, 151

Scotland, King of, 32, 76, 203

Scrivelsby, Manor of, 84

Seal of Order of the Bath, 217

Secker, Archbishop, 131

Serjeant of Ewery, 211

Sir John Hawkwell, 79

Sistine Chapel, 252-254

Solyman III., 255

Soult, Marshal, 144, 145

Spain, King of, 31, 32

Queen of, 246

Spoon, the, 160

Spirs, the, 16, 151

of a knight, 193, 202, 210, 211

Staff, the, 151, 157, 158

State coaches, 144, 145

Stephen, King, 64-66

Stirling Castle, 242, 243

Stole, the, 168, 169

Stone, the King's, 42-44

Stone of Scone, 109, 110

Stonhenge, 35-38

Strogenoff, 145

Style of John, 71; of Elizabeth, 107; of Charles II., 115; of

George I., 126; of George III., 134; of Edward VII., 183; of

Napoleon, 240

St. Columba, 26, 27

St. Denys, 31, 90, 179, 225
 St. Edward's Chapel, 123, 146
 crown, 20, 40, 41, 95, 110, 111,
 152, 153, 157, 166, 167
 sceptre, 157
 staff, 157, 158
 St. James's Palace, 125, 141
 St. Paul's Cathedral, 74, 92, 98,
 101, 104
 St. Peter's Church, Rome, 247,
 248, 252, 253
 St. Stephen's crown, 187-189
 Supertunic, 169
 Surrey, Lord, 147
 Sweden, King of, 221
 Sword of State, 80, 93, 151
 Symbols of knighthood, 93, 194

 Temple, the, 198
 Temple Bar, 7, 104
 Theatre, the, 17, 86, 89, 101, 114
 Theft of the Crown Jewels of
 France, 179
 Regalia of England attempted,
 161-163
 Thomas à Becket, 86, 159, 160
 Thrones in the Russian Treasury,
 182, 183
 Thunderstorm during a coronation,
 116, 117
 Thynne, Lord John, 146
 Tothill Fields, 110
 Tours, Archbishop of, 67
 Tower of London, 81, 85, 91, 120,
 144, 159, 160, 161, 167, 176,
 177, 204
 Treasury, the, 155, 161
 Troyes, 227
 Tsars of Russia, the, 2, 32, 183
 Tuileries, the, 237, 238

 Usk, the, 37

 Vatican, the, 248-253
 Vestments, 151, 154, 168-170
 Victoria, Queen, 10, 16, 17, 142-
 148, 168-170, 177, 229
 crown of, 163, 164

Viner, Sir Henry, 157

 Wales, Kings of, 76, 77
 Prince of, 85, 167, 198-200, 215,
 216
 Wars of the Roses, 90
 Warwick, Earls of, 12
 Waterloo, Battle of, 180, 222
 Wellington, Duke of, 13, 146, 147,
 176
 Westminster, 41, 45, 46, 55, 81,
 85, 89, 100, 122, 152, 199
 Abbey, 46, 53-55, 58, 59, 73,
 74, 86, 88, 89, 111, 113, 129,
 145, 146, 148, 200, 217-
 219
 Abbots of, 14, 107
 Dean and Chapter of, 23, 155
 Dean of, 16, 58, 59, 146, 155, 156,
 217-219
 Hall, 7-9, 83, 95, 121, 128,
 132, 137, 138, 202, 204
 scholars, 118
 Whitehall, 105, 106, 109, 110,
 112, 114, 122
 Whitgift, Archbishop, 109
 William I., 49, 51-52
 William II., 59-61
 William III., 121-123
 William IV., 16, 17, 109, 141
 William de Breteuil, 61, 62
 Williams, Dean, 155
 Willoughby, Lord, 146
 Winchester, 40, 41, 45, 59, 61, 62,
 64, 66
 Bishop of, 64, 77, 90
 Windsor, 89, 177
 Witanagemot, 42, 48
 Wither, George, 156
 Woodlock, Bishop of Winchester, 77
 Wulfhelm, 43

 Yeomen of the Guard, 99, 143
 York, Archbishop of, 16, 22, 107,
 123
 Cardinal of, 166
 Duke of, 196, 214
 Young Pretender, 133, 134

